This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Digitized by Google

426

XL5

Oxford University
ENGLISH FACULTY LIBRARY

II

Oxford University
ENGLISH FACULTY LIBRARY
Manor Road,
Oxford.
Tel.: Oxford 49631 Postcode: OX1 3UQ

Opening Hours:
Monday to Friday: 9.30 a.m. to 7 p.m. in Full Term.
(9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m., and 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. in Vacations.)
Saturday: 9.30 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. in Full Term only (closed in Vacations).
The Library is closed for ten days at Christmas and at Easter, on Encaenia Day, and for six weeks in August and September.

This book should be returned on or before the latest date below:

LENT BY SPECIAL PERMISSION ONLY

29 MAY 1981

13 JUN 1985

Readers are asked to protect Library books from rain, etc. Any volumes which are lost, defaced with notes, or otherwise damaged, may have to be replaced by the Reader responsible.

300150301D

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

4.22.

THE

WORKS

OF

Samuel Johnſon, LL.D.

A NEW EDITION,

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

WITH

AN ESSAY ON HIS LIFE AND GENIUS,

BY ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON:

Printed by Luke Hanſard, Great Turnſtile, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields;

For H. Baldwin, J. Johnſon, G. G. and J. Robinſon, P. Elmſly, J. Nichols, R. Baldwin, H. L. Gardner, F. and C. Rivington, W. Otridge and Son, W. J. and J. Richardſon, A. Strahan, J. Sewell, Leigh and Sothebys, R. Faulder, G. and W. Nicol, T. Payne, W. Lowndes, G. Wilkie, C. Davis, J. Matthews, T. Egerton, J. Edwards, P. M'Queen, Ogilvie and Son, J. Scatcherd, J. Walker, B. C. Collins, E. Newbery, Vernor and Hood, R. Lea, J. Deighton, Darton and Harvey, J. Nunn, Lackington Allen and Co. J. Stockdale, G. Cuthell, D. Walker, Clarke and Son, G. Kearſley, C. Law, J. White, Longman and Rees, Cadell jun. and Davies, J. Barker, Carpenter and Co. T. Hurſt, W. Miller, Murray and Highley, S. Bagſter, J. Harding, J. Hatchard, J. Wallis, R. H. Evans, and J. Mawman.

1801.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

PHILOLOGICAL TRACTS.

	Page
THE *Plan of an Engliſh Dictionary*	3
Preface to the Engliſh Dictionary	31
Propoſals for printing the Works of Shakeſpeare	68
Preface to Ditto	77
General Obſervations on Shakeſpeare's Plays	141
Account of the Harleian Library	171
Eſſay on the Origin and Importance of Fugitive Pieces	184
Account of the Life of Benvenuto Cellini	195
View of the Controverſy between Crouſaz and Warburton	198
Preliminary Diſcourſe to the London Chronicle, 1757	203
Introduction to the World Diſplayed	208
Preface to the Preceptor	235
Preface to Rolt's Dictionary	256
Preface to the Tranſlation of Father Lobo's Voyage	265
Eſſay on Epitaphs	270

POLITICAL ESSAYS.

Obſervations on the State of Affairs in 1756	281
Introduction to the Political State of Great Britain	284

MISCEL-

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Review of Memoirs of the Court of Auguſtus - 319
Review of Four Letters from Sir Iſaac Newton to Dr. Bentley - - - - - - 328
Review of a Journal of Eight Days Journey from Portſmouth to Kingſton upon Thames, &c. - 333
Review of an Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope - - - - - - - 349
Reply to a Paper in the Gazetteer - - - 360
Introduction to the Proceedings of the Committee for cloathing French Priſoners of War - - 368
On the Bravery of the Engliſh Common Soldiers - 371
Conſiderations on the Plans for the Conſtruction of Black Friars Bridge - - - - - 375
Some Thoughts on Agriculture, Ancient and Modern 384
Further Thoughts on Agriculture - - - 391
The Viſion of Theodore, the Hermit of Teneriffe - 398
The Picture of Human Life, from the Greek of Cebes 416

PHILO-

Digitized by Google

PHILOLOGICAL

TRACTS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

PLAN

OF AN

ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

To the Right Honourable PHILIP DORMER, Earl of CHESTERFIELD, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State.

MY LORD,

WHEN firſt I undertook to write an *Engliſh* Dictionary, I had no expectation of any higher patronage than that of the proprietors of the copy, nor proſpect of any other advantage than the price of my labour. I knew that the work in which I engaged is generally conſidered as drudgery for the blind, as the proper toil of artleſs induſtry; a taſk that requires neither the light of learning, nor the activity of genius, but may be ſucceſsfully performed without any higher quality than that of bearing burthens with dull patience, and beating the track of the alphabet with ſluggiſh reſolution.

 Whether

Digitized by Google

Whether this opinion, ſo long tranſmitted, and ſo widely propagated, had its beginning from truth and nature, or from accident and prejudice; whether it be decreed by the authority of reaſon, or the tyranny of ignorance, that of all the candidates for literary praiſe, the unhappy lexicographer holds the loweſt place, neither vanity nor intereſt incited me to enquire. It appeared that the province allotted me was, of all the regions of learning, generally confeſſed to be the leaſt delightful, that it was believed to produce neither fruits nor flowers; and that, after a long and laborious cultivation, not even the barren laurel had been found upon it.

Yet on this province, my Lord, I entered, with the pleaſing hope, that, as it was low, it likewiſe would be ſafe. I was drawn forward with the proſpect of employment, which, though not ſplendid, would be uſeful; and which, though it could not make my life envied, would keep it innocent; which would awaken no paſſion, engage me in no contention, nor throw in my way any temptation to diſturb the quiet of others by cenſure, or my own by flattery.

I had read indeed of times, in which princes and ſtateſmen thought it part of their honour to promote the improvemnt of their native tongues; and in which dictionaries were written under the protection of greatneſs. To the patrons of ſuch undertakings I willingly paid the homage of believing that they, who were thus ſolicitous for the perpetuity of their language, had reaſon to expect that their actions would be celebrated by poſterity, and that the

Digitized by Google

the eloquence which they promoted would be employed in their praiſe. But I conſider ſuch acts of beneficence as prodigies, recorded rather to raiſe wonder than expectation; and content with the terms that I had ſtipulated, had not ſuffered my imagination to flatter me with any other encouragement, when I found that my deſign had been thought by your Lordſhip of importance ſufficient to attract your favour.

How far this unexpected diſtinction can be rated among the happy incidents of life, I am not yet able to determine. Its firſt effect has been to make me anxious, leſt it ſhould fix the attention of the public too much upon me, and, as it once happened to an epick poet of *France*, by raiſing the reputation of the attempt, obſtruct the reception of the work. I imagine what the world will expect from a ſcheme, proſecuted under your Lordſhip's influence; and I know that expectation, when her wings are once expanded, eaſily reaches heights which performance never will attain: and when ſhe has mounted the ſummit of perfection, derides her follower, who dies in the purſuit.

Not therefore to raiſe expectation, but to repreſs it, I here lay before your Lordſhip the Plan of my undertaking, that more may not be demanded than I intend; and that, before it is too far advanced to be thrown into a new method, I may be advertiſed of its defects or ſuperfluities. Such informations I may juſtly hope, from the emulation with which thoſe, who deſire the praiſe of elegance or diſcernment, muſt contend in the promotion of a deſign

Digitized by Google

that you, my Lord, have not thought unworthy to ſhare your attention with treaties and with wars.

In the firſt attempt to methodiſe my ideas I found a difficulty, which extended itſelf to the whole work. It was not eaſy to determine by what rule of diſtinction the words of this Dictionary were to be choſen. The chief intent of it is to preſerve the purity, and aſcertain the meaning of our *Engliſh* idiom; and this ſeems to require nothing more than that our language be conſidered, ſo far as it is our own; that the words and phraſes uſed in the general intercourſe of life, or found in the works of thoſe whom we commonly ſtile polite writers, be ſelected, without including the terms of particular profeſſions; ſince, with the arts to which they relate, they are generally derived from other nations, and are very often the ſame in all the languages of this part of the world. This is, perhaps, the exact and pure idea of a grammatical dictionary; but in lexicography, as in other arts, naked ſcience is too delicate for the purpoſes of life. The value of a work muſt be eſtimated by its uſe: it is not enough that a dictionary delights the critick, unleſs, at the ſame time, it inſtructs the learner; as it is to little purpoſe that an engine amuſes the philoſopher by the ſubtilty of its mechaniſm, if it requires ſo much knowledge in its application as to be of no advantage to the common workman.

The title which I prefix to my work has long conveyed a very miſcellaneous idea, and they that take a dictionary into their hands, have been accuſtomed to expect from it a ſolution of almoſt every difficulty.

Digitized by Google

difficulty. If foreign words therefore were rejected, it could be little regarded, except by criticks, or thoſe who aſpire to criticiſm; and however it might enlighten thoſe that write, would be all darkneſs to them that only read. The unlearned much oftener conſult their dictionaries for the meaning of words, than for their ſtructures or formations; and the words that moſt want explanation, are generally terms of art; which, therefore, experience has taught my predeceſſors to ſpread with a kind of pompous luxuriance over their productions.

The academicians of *France*, indeed, rejected terms of ſcience in their firſt eſſay, but found afterwards a neceſſity of relaxing the rigour of their determination; and, though they would not naturalize them at once by a ſingle act, permitted them by degrees to ſettle themſelves among the natives, with little oppoſition; and it would ſurely be no proof of judgment to imitate them in an error which they have now retracted, and deprive the book of its chief uſe, by ſcrupulous diſtinctions.

Of ſuch words, however, all are not equally to be conſidered as parts of our language; for ſome of them are naturalized and incorporated, but others ſtill continue aliens, and are rather auxiliaries than ſubjects. This naturalization is produced either by an admiſſion into common ſpeech, in ſome metaphorical ſignification, which is the acquiſition of a kind of property among us; as we ſay, the *zenith* of advancement, the *meridian* of life, the *cynoſure** of neighbouring eyes; or it is the conſequence of

* Milton.

Digitized by Google

long intermixture and frequent uſe, by which the ear is accuſtomed to the ſound of words, till their original is forgotten, as in *equator*, *ſatellites*; or of the change of a foreign into an *Engliſh* termination, and a conformity to the laws of the ſpeech into which they are adopted; as in *category*, *cachexy*, *peripneumony*.

Of thoſe which ſtill continue in the ſtate of aliens, and have made no approaches towards aſſimilation, ſome ſeem neceſſary to be retained; becauſe the purchaſers of the Dictionary will expect to find them. Such are many words in the common law, as *capias*, *habeas corpus*, *præmunire*, *niſi prius*: ſuch are ſome terms of controverſial divinity, as *hypoſtaſis*; and of phyſick, as the names of diſeaſes; and in general, all terms which can be found in books not written profeſſedly upon particular arts, or can be ſuppoſed neceſſary to thoſe who do not regularly ſtudy them. Thus, when a reader not ſkilled in phyſick happens in *Milton* upon this line,

——— pining atrophy,
Maraſmus, and wide-waſting peſtilence,

he will, with equal expectation, look into his dictionary for the word *maraſmus*, as for *atrophy*, or *peſtilence*; and will have reaſon to complain if he does not find it.

It ſeems neceſſary to the completion of a dictionary deſigned not merely for criticks, but for popular uſe, that it ſhould compriſe, in ſome degree, the peculiar words of every profeſſion; that the terms of war and navigation ſhould be inſerted, ſo far as they can be required by readers of travels, and of hiſtory;

Digitized by Google

hiſtory; and thoſe of law, merchandiſe, and mechanical trades, ſo far as they can be ſuppoſed uſeful in the occurrences of common life.

But there ought, however, to be ſome diſtinction made between the different claſſes of words; and therefore it will be proper to print thoſe which are incorporated into the language in the uſual character, and thoſe which are ſtill to be conſidered as foreign, in the *italick* letter.

Another queſtion may ariſe with regard to appellatives, or the names of ſpecies. It ſeems of no great uſe to ſet down the words *horſe*, *dog*, *cat*, *willow*, *alder*, *daiſy*, *roſe*, and a thouſand others, of which it will be hard to give an explanation, not more obſcure than the word itſelf. Yet it is to be conſidered, that, if the names of animals be inſerted, we muſt admit thoſe which are more known, as well as thoſe with which we are, by accident, leſs acquainted; and if they are all rejected, how will the reader be relieved from difficulties produced by alluſions to the crocodile, the chameleon, the ichneumon, and the hyæna? If no plants are to be mentioned, the moſt pleaſing part of nature will be excluded, and many beautiful epithets be unexplained. If only thoſe which are leſs known are to be mentioned, who ſhall fix the limits of the reader's learning? The importance of ſuch explications appears from the miſtakes which the want of them has occaſioned. Had *Shakeſpeare* had a dictionary of this kind, he had not made the *woodbine* entwine the *honeyſuckle*; nor would *Milton*, with ſuch aſſiſtance, have diſpoſed ſo improperly of his *ellops* and his *ſcorpion*.

Beſides,

Digitized by Google

Beſides, as ſuch words, like others, require that their accents ſhould be ſettled, their ſounds aſcertained, and their etymologies deduced, they cannot be properly omitted in the dictionary. And though the explanations of ſome may be cenſured as trivial, becauſe they are almoſt univerſally underſtood; and thoſe of others as unneceſſary, becauſe they will ſeldom occur; yet it ſeems not proper to omit them, ſince it is rather to be wiſhed that many readers ſhould find more than they expect, than that one ſhould miſs what he might hope to find.

When all the words are ſelected and arranged, the firſt part of the work to be conſidered is the orthography, which was long vague and uncertain; which at laſt, when its fluctuation ceaſed, was in many caſes ſettled but by accident; and in which, according to your Lordſhip's obſervation, there is ſtill great uncertainty among the beſt criticks: nor is it eaſy to ſtate a rule by which we may decide between cuſtom and reaſon, or between the equiponderant authorities of writers alike eminent for judgment and accuracy.

The great orthographical conteſt has long ſubſiſted between etymology and pronunciation. It has been demanded, on one hand, that men ſhould write as they ſpeak; but as it has been ſhewn that this conformity never was attained in any language, and that it is not more eaſy to perſuade men to agree exactly in ſpeaking than in writing, it may be aſked with equal propriety, why men do not rather ſpeak as they write. In *France*, where this controverſy was at its greateſt height, neither party, however ardent, durſt adhere ſteadily to their own rule; the etymologiſt

Digitized by Google

etymologiſt was often forced to ſpell with the people; and the advocate for the authority of pronunciation found it ſometimes deviating ſo capriciouſly from the received uſe of writing, that he was conſtrained to comply with the rule of his adverſaries, leſt he ſhould loſe the end by the means, and be left alone by following the crowd.

When a queſtion of orthography is dubious, that practice has, in my opinion, a claim to preference which preſerves the greateſt number of radical letters, or ſeems moſt to comply with the general cuſtom of our language. But the chief rule which I propoſe to follow is, to make no innovation, without a reaſon ſufficient to balance the inconvenience of change; and ſuch reaſons I do not expect often to find. All change is of itſelf an evil, which ought not to be hazarded but for evident advantage; and as inconſtancy is in every caſe a mark of weakneſs, it will add nothing to the reputation of our tongue. There are, indeed, ſome who deſpiſe the inconveniences of confuſion, who ſeem to take pleaſure in departing from cuſtom, and to think alteration deſirable for its own ſake; and the reformation of our orthography, which theſe writers have attempted, ſhould not paſs without its due honours, but that I ſuppoſe they hold a ſingularity its own reward, or may dread the faſcination of laviſh praiſe.

The preſent uſage of ſpelling, where the preſent uſage can be diſtinguiſhed, will therefore, in this work be generally followed; yet there will be often occaſion to obſerve, that it is in itſelf inaccurate, and tolerated rather than choſen; particularly when, by a change of one letter, or more, the meaning of a word

Digitized by Google

a word is obſcured; as in *farrier*, or *ferrier*, as it was formerly written, from *ferrum*, or *fer*; in *gibberiſh*, for *gebriſh*, the jargon of *Geber* and his chymical followers, underſtood by none but their own tribe. It will be likewiſe ſometimes proper to trace back the orthography of different ages, and ſhew by what gradations the word departed from its original.

Cloſely connected with orthography is pronunciation, the ſtability of which is of great importance to the duration of a language, becauſe the firſt change will naturally begin by corruptions in the living ſpeech. The want of certain rules for the pronunciation of former ages, has made us wholly ignorant of the metrical art of our ancient poets; and ſince thoſe who ſtudy their ſentiments regret the loſs of their numbers, it is ſurely time to provide that the harmony of the moderns may be more permanent.

A new pronunciation will make almoſt a new ſpeech; and therefore, ſince one great end of this undertaking is to fix the *Engliſh* language, care will be taken to determine the accentuation of all polyſyllables by proper authorities, as it is one of thoſe capricious phænomena which cannot be eaſily reduced to rules. Thus there is no antecedent reaſon for difference of accent in the words *dolorous* and *ſonorous*; yet of the one *Milton* gives the ſound in this line:

He paſs'd o'er many a region *dolorous*;

and that of the other in this,

Sonorous metal blowing martial ſounds.

It

Digitized by Google

It may likewiſe be proper to remark metrical licences, ſuch as contractions, *generous*, *gen'rous*; *reverend*, *rev'rend*; and coalitions, as *region*, *queſtion*.

But it is ſtill more neceſſary to fix the pronunciation of monoſyllables, by placing with them words of correſpondent ſound, that one may guard the other againſt the danger of that variation, which, to ſome of the moſt common, has already happened; ſo that the words *wound* and *wind*, as they are now frequently pronounced, will not rhyme to *ſound* and *mind*. It is to be remarked, that many words written alike are differently pronounced, as *flow*, and *brow*: which may be thus regiſtered *flow*, *woe*; *brow*, *now*; or of which the exemplification may be generally given by a diſtich: thus the words *tear*, or lacerate, and *tear*, the water of the eye, have the ſame letters, but may be diſtinguiſhed thus, *tear*, *dare*; *tear*, *peer*.

Some words have two ſounds, which may be equally admitted, as being equally defenſible by authority. Thus *great* is differently uſed.

For *Swift* and him deſpis'd the farce of ſtate,
The ſober follies of the wiſe and *great*, POPE.

As if misfortune made the throne her ſeat,
And none could be unhappy but the *great*. ROWE.

The care of ſuch minute particulars may be cenſured as trifling; but theſe particulars have not been thought unworthy of attention in more poliſhed languages.

The accuracy of the *French*, in ſtating the ſounds of their letters, is well known; and, among the *Italians*,

Digitized by Google

Italians, *Creſcembeni* has not thought it unneceſſary to inform his countrymen of the words which, in compliance with different rhymes, are allowed to be differently ſpelt, and of which the number is now ſo fixed, that no modern poet is ſuffered to encreaſe it.

When the orthography and pronunciation, are adjuſted, the etymology or derivation is next to be conſidered, and the words are to be diſtinguiſhed according to the different claſſes, whether ſimple, as *day*, *light*, or compound, as *day-light*; whether primitive, as, to *act*, or derivative, as *action*, *actionable*, *active*, *activity*. This will much facilitate the attainment of our language, which now ſtands in our dictionaries a confuſed heap of words without dependence, and without relation.

When this part of the work is performed, it will be neceſſary to enquire how our primitives are to be deduced from foreign languages, which may be often very ſucceſsfully performed by the aſſiſtance of our own etymologiſts. This ſearch will give occaſion to many curious diſquiſitions and ſometimes perhaps to conjectures, which to readers unacquainted with this kind of ſtudy, cannot but appear improbable and capricious. But it may be reaſonably imagined, that what is ſo much in the power of men as language, will very often be capriciouſly conducted. Nor are theſe diſquiſitions and conjectures to be conſidered altogether as wanton ſports of wit, or vain ſhews of learning; our language is well-known not to be primitive or ſelf-originated, but to have adopted words of every generation, and, either for the ſupply of its neceſſities, or the encreaſe of its copiouſneſs, to have received additions from very

Digitized by Google

diſtant regions; ſo that in ſearch of the progenitors of our ſpeech, we may wander from the tropick to the frozen zone, and find ſome in the vallies of *Paleſtine*, and ſome upon the rocks of *Norway*.

Beſide the derivation of particular words, there is likewiſe an etymology of phraſes. Expreſſions are often taken from other languages; ſome apparently, as to *run a riſque*, *courir un riſque*; and ſome even when we do not ſeem to borrow their words; thus, to *bring about* or accompliſh, appears an *Engliſh* phraſe, but in reality our native word *about* has no ſuch import, and is only a *French* expreſſion, of which we have an example in the common phraſe *venir à bout d'une affaire*.

In exhibiting the deſcent of our language, our etymologiſts ſeem to have been too laviſh of their learning, having traced almoſt every word through various tongues, only to ſhew what was ſhewn ſufficiently by the firſt derivation. This practice is of great uſe in ſynoptical lexicons, where mutilated and doubtful languages are explained by their affinity to others more certain and extenſive, but is generally ſuperfluous in *Engliſh* etymologies. When the word is eaſily deduced from a *Saxon* original, I ſhall not often enquire further, ſince we know not the parent of the *Saxon* dialect; but when it is borrowed from the *French*, I ſhall ſhew whence the *French* is apparently derived. Where a *Saxon* root cannot be found, the defect may be ſupplied from kindred languages, which will be generally furniſhed with much liberality by the writers of our gloſſaries; writers who deſerve often the higheſt praiſe, both of judgment and induſtry, and may expect at leaſt to be

Digitized by Google

be mentioned with honour by me, whom they have freed from the greateſt part of a very laborious work, and on whom they have impoſed, at worſt, only the eaſy taſk of rejecting ſuperfluities.

By tracing in this manner every word to its original, and not admitting, but with great caution, any of which no original can be found, we ſhall ſecure our language from being over-run with cant, from being crowded with low terms, the ſpawn of folly or affectation, which ariſe from no juſt principles of ſpeech, and of which therefore no legitimate derivation can be ſhewn.

When the etymology is thus adjuſted, the analogy of our language is next to be conſidered; when we have diſcovered whence our words are derived, we are to examine by what rules they are governed, and how they are inflected through their various terminations. The terminations of the *Engliſh* are few, but thoſe few have hitherto remained unregarded by the writers of our dictionaries. Our ſubſtantives are declined only by the plural termination, our adjectives admit no variation but in the degrees of compariſon, and our verbs are conjugated by auxiliary words, and are only changed in the preter tenſe.

To our language may be with great juſtneſs applied the obſervation of *Quintilian*, that ſpeech was not formed by an analogy ſent from heaven. It did not deſcend to us in a ſtate of uniformity and perfection, but was produced by neceſſity, and enlarged by accident, and is therefore compoſed of diſſimilar parts, thrown together by negligence, by affectation, by learning, or by ignorance.

Our

Digitized by Google

Our inflections therefore are by no means conſtant, but admit of numberleſs irregularities, which in this Dictionary will be diligently noted. Thus *fox* makes in the plural *foxes*, but *ox* makes *oxen*. *Sheep* is the ſame in both numbers. Adjectives are ſometimes compared by changing the laſt ſyllable, as *proud*, *prouder*, *proudeſt*; and ſometimes by particles prefixed, as, *ambitious*, *more* ambitious, *moſt* ambitious. The forms of our verbs are ſubject to great variety; ſome end their preter tenſe in *ed*, as I *love*, I *loved*, I have *loved*; which may be called the regular form, and is followed by moſt of our verbs of ſouthern original. But many depart from this rule, without agreeing in any other; as I *ſhake*, I *ſhook*, I have *ſhaken*, or *ſhook*, as it is ſometimes written in poetry; I *make*, I *made*, I have *made*; I *bring*, I *brought*; I *wring*, I *wrung*; and many others, which, as they cannot be reduced to rules, muſt be learned from the dictionary rather than the grammar.

The verbs are likewiſe to be diſtinguiſhed according to their qualities, as actives from neuters; the neglect of which has already introduced ſome barbarities in our converſation, which if not obviated by juſt animadverſions, may in time creep into our writings.

Thus, my Lord will our language be laid down, diſtinct in its minuteſt ſubdiviſions, and reſolved into its elemental principles. And who upon this ſurvey can forbear to wiſh, that theſe fundamental atoms of our ſpeech might obtain the firmneſs and immutability of the primogenial and conſtituent particles of matter, that they might retain their ſub-

Digitized by Google

ſtance while they alter their appearance, and be varied and compounded, yet not deſtroyed.

But this is a privilege which words are ſcarcely to expect: for, like their author, when they are not gaining ſtrength, they are generally loſing it. Though art may ſometimes prolong their duration, it will rarely give them perpetuity; and their changes will be almoſt always informing us, that language is the work of man, of a being from whom permanence and ſtability cannot be derived.

Words having been hitherto conſidered as ſeparate and unconnected, are now to be likewiſe examined as they are ranged in their various relations to others by the rules of ſyntax or conſtruction, to which I do not know that any regard has been yet ſhewn in *Engliſh* dictionaries, and in which the grammarians can give little aſſiſtance. The ſyntax of this language is too inconſtant to be reduced to rules, and can be only learned by the diſtinct conſideration of particular words as they are uſed by the beſt authors. Thus, we ſay, according to the preſent modes of ſpeech, The ſoldier died *of* his wounds, and the ſailor periſhed *with* hunger: and every man acquainted with our language would be offended by a change of theſe particles, which yet ſeem originally aſſigned by chance, there being no reaſon to be drawn from grammar why a man may not, with equal propriety, be ſaid to die *with* a wound, or periſh *of* hunger.

Our ſyntax therefore is not to be taught by general rules, but by ſpecial precedents; and in examining whether *Addiſon* has been with juſtice, accuſed of a ſoleciſm in this paſſage,

Digitized by Google

The poor inhabitant ———
Starves in the midſt of nature's bounty curſt,
And in the loaden vineyard *dies for thirſt*,

it is not in our power to have recourſe to any eſtabliſhed laws of ſpeech; but we muſt remark how the writers of former ages have uſed the ſame word, and conſider whether he can be acquitted of impropriety, upon the teſtimony of *Davies*, given in his favour by a ſimilar paſſage.

She loaths the wat'ry glaſs wherein ſhe gaz'd,
And ſhuns it ſtill, although *for thirſt ſhe dye*.

When the conſtruction of a word is explained, it is neceſſary to purſue it through its train of phraſeology, through thoſe forms where it is uſed in a manner peculiar to our language, or in ſenſes not to be compriſed in the general explanations; as from the verb *make* ariſe theſe phraſes, to *make love*, to *make an end*, to *make way*; as, he *made way* for his followers, the ſhip *made way* before the wind; to *make a bed*, to *make merry*, to *make a mock*, to *make preſents*, to *make a doubt*, to *make out an aſſertion*, to *make good a* breach, to *make good* a cauſe, to *make nothing* of an attempt, to *make lamentation*, to *make a merit*, and many others which will occur in reading with that view, and which only their frequency hinders from being generally remarked.

The great labour is yet to come, the labour of interpreting theſe words and phraſes with brevity, fulneſs, and perſpicuity; a taſk of which the extent and intricacy is ſufficiently ſhewn by the miſcarriage of thoſe who have generally attempted it. This

Digitized by Google

difficulty is increaſed by the neceſſity of explaining the words in the ſame language; for there is often only one word for one idea; and though it be eaſy to tranſlate the words *bright*, *ſweet*, *ſalt*, *bitter*, into another language, it is not eaſy to explain them.

With regard to the interpretation, many other queſtions have required conſideration. It was ſome time doubted whether it be neceſſary to explain the things implied by particular words; as under the term *baronet*, whether, inſtead of this explanation, *a title of honour next in degree to that of baron*, it would be better to mention more particularly the creation, privileges, and rank of baronets; and whether, under the word *barometer*, inſtead of being ſatisfied with obſerving that it is *an inſtrument to diſcover the weight of the air*, it would be fit to ſpend a few lines upon its invention, conſtruction, and principles. It is not to be expected, that with the explanation of the one the herald ſhould be ſatisfied, or the philoſopher with that of the other; but ſince it will be required by common readers, that the explications ſhould be ſufficient for common uſe; and ſince, without ſome attention to ſuch demands, the Dictionary cannot become generally valuable, I have determined to conſult the beſt writers for explanations real as well as verbal; and perhaps I may at laſt have reaſon to ſay, after one of the augmenters of *Furetier*, that my book is more learned than its author.

In explaining the general and popular language, it ſeems neceſſary to ſort the ſeveral ſenſes of each word, and to exhibit firſt its natural and primitive ſignification; as,

To

Digitized by Google

To *arrive*, to reach the ſhore in a voyage: he *arrived* at a ſafe harbour.

Then to give its conſequential meaning, *to arrive*, to reach any place, whether by land or ſea; as, he *arrived* at his country ſeat.

Then its metaphorical ſenſe, to obtain any thing deſired; as, he *arrived* at a peerage.

Then to mention any obſervation that ariſes from the compariſon of one meaning with another; as, it may be remarked of the word *arrive*, that, in conſequence of its original and etymological ſenſe, it cannot be properly applied but to words ſignifying ſomething deſirable: thus we ſay, a man *arrived* at happineſs; but cannot ſay, without a mixture of irony, he *arrived* at miſery.

Ground, the earth, generally as oppoſed to the air or water. He ſwam till he reached *ground*. The bird fell to the *ground*.

Then follows the accidental or conſequential ſignification in which *ground* implies any thing that lies under another; as, he laid colours upon a rough *ground*. The ſilk had blue flowers on a red *ground*.

Then the remoter or metaphorical ſignification; as the *ground* of his opinion was a falſe computation. The *ground* of his work was his father's manuſcript.

After having gone through the natural and figurative ſenſes, it will be proper to ſubjoin the poetical ſenſe of each word, where it differs from that which is in common uſe; as *wanton*, applied to any thing of which the motion is irregular without terror; as,

In *wanton* ringlets curl'd her hair.

Digitized by Google

To the poetical ſenſe may ſucceed the familiar; as of *toaſt*, uſed to imply the perſon whoſe health is drank; as,

The wiſe man's paſſion, and the vain man's *toaſt*. POPE.

The familiar may be followed by the burleſque; as of *mellow*, applied to good fellowſhip:

In all thy humours, whether grave or *mellow*. ADDISON.

Or of *bite*, uſed for *cheat*:

——— More a dupe than wit,
Sappho can tell you how this man was *bit*. POPE.

And laſtly, may be produced the peculiar ſenſe, in which a word is found in any great author: as *faculties*, in *Shakeſpeare*, ſignifies the powers of authority:

——— This *Duncan*
Has born his *faculties* ſo meek, has been
So clear in his great office, that, *&c.*

The ſignification of adjectives may be often aſcertained by uniting them to ſubſtantives; as, *ſimple ſwain*, *ſimple ſheep*. Sometimes the ſenſe of a ſubſtantive may be elucidated by the epithets annexed to it in good authors; as, the *boundleſs ocean*, the *open lawns*: and where ſuch advantage can be gained by a ſhort quotation, it is not to be omitted.

The difference of ſignification in words generally accounted ſynonimous, ought to be carefully obſerved; as in *pride*, *haughtineſs*, *arrogance*: and the ſtrict and critical meaning ought to be diſtinguiſhed from that which is looſe and popular; as in the word *perfection*, which, though in its philoſophical and exact

Digitized by Google

exact ſenſe it can be of little uſe among human beings, is often ſo much degraded from its original ſignification, that the academicians have inſerted in their work, the *perfection* of a language, and, with a little more licentiouſneſs, might have prevailed on themſelves to have added *the perfection of a dictionary*.

There are many other characters of words which it will be of uſe to mention. Some have both an active and paſſive ſignification; as *fearful*, that which gives or which feels terror; a *fearful prodigy*, a *fearful hare*. Some have a perſonal, ſome a real meaning; as in oppoſition to *old*, we uſe the adjective *young*, of animated beings, and *new* of other things. Some are reſtrained to the ſenſe of praiſe, and others to that of diſapprobation; ſo commonly, though not always, we *exhort* to good actions we *inſtigate* to ill; we *animate*, *incite*, and *encourage* indifferently to good or bad. So we uſually *aſcribe* good but *impute* evil; yet neither the uſe of theſe words, nor, perhaps, of any other in our licentious language, is ſo eſtabliſhed as not to be often reverſed by the correcteſt writers. I ſhall therefore, ſince the rules of ſtile, like thoſe of law, ariſe from precedents often repeated, collect the teſtimonies on both ſides, and endeavour to diſcover and promulgate the decrees of cuſtom, who has ſo long poſſeſſed, whether by right or by uſurpation, the ſovereignty of words.

It is neceſſary likewiſe to explain many words by their oppoſition to others; for contraries are beſt ſeen when they ſtand together. Thus the verb *ſtand* has one ſenſe, as oppoſed to *fall*, and another as oppoſed to *fly*; for want of attending to which diſtinc-

Digitized by Google

tion, obvious as it is, the learned Dr. *Bentley* has ſquandered his criticiſm to no purpoſe, on theſe lines of *Paradiſe Loſt*:

——— In heaps
Chariot and charioteer lay overturned,
And fiery foaming ſteeds. What *ſtood, recoil'd*,
O'erwearied, through the faint ſatanic hoſt,
Defenſive ſcarce, or with pale fear ſurpris'd,
Fled ignominious ——

'Here,' ſays the critic, 'as the ſentence is now 'read, we find that what *ſtood, fled*:' and therefore he propoſes an alteration, which he might have ſpared if he had conſulted a dictionary, and found that nothing more was affirmed than that thoſe *fled* who did *not fall*.

In explaining ſuch meanings as ſeem accidental and adventitious, I ſhall endeavour to give an account of the means by which they were introduced. Thus, to *eke out* any thing, ſignifies to lengthen it beyond its juſt dimenſions, by ſome low artifice; becauſe the word *eke* was the uſual refuge of our old writers, when they wanted a ſyllable. And *buxom*, which means only *obedient*, is now made, in familiar phraſes, to ſtand for *wanton*; becauſe in an ancient form of marriage, before the Reformation, the bride promiſed complaiſance and obedience, in theſe terms: 'I will be bonair and 'buxom in bed and at board.'

I know well, my Lord, how trifling many of theſe remarks will appear ſeparately conſidered, and how eaſily they may give occaſion to the contemptuous merriment of ſportive idleneſs, and the gloomy cenſures of arrogant ſtupidity; but dulneſs it is eaſy to deſpiſe, and laughter it is eaſy to repay. I ſhall not be

Digitized by Google

be ſolicitous what is thought of my work by ſuch as know not the difficulty or importance of philological ſtudies; nor ſhall think thoſe that have done nothing, qualified to condemn me for doing little. It may not, however, be improper to remind them, that no terreſtrial greatneſs is more than an aggregate of little things; and to inculcate, after the *Arabian* proverb, that drops, added to drops, conſtitute the ocean.

There remains yet to be conſidered the diſtribution of words into their proper claſſes, or that part of lexicography which is ſtrictly critical.

The popular part of the language, which includes all words not appropriated to particular ſciences, admits of many diſtinctions and ſubdiviſions; as, into words of general uſe, words employed chiefly in poetry, words obſolete, words which are admitted only by particular writers, yet not in themſelves improper; words uſed only in burleſque writing; and words impure and barbarous.

Words of general uſe will be known by having no ſign of particularity, and their various ſenſes will be ſupported by authorities of all ages.

The words appropriated to poetry will be diſtinguiſhed by ſome mark prefixed, or will be known by having no authorities but thoſe of poets.

Of antiquated or obſolete words, none will be inſerted but ſuch as are to be found in authors who wrote ſince the acceſſion of *Elizabeth*, from which we date the golden age of our language; and of theſe many might be omitted, but that the reader may require, with an appearance of reaſon, that no difficulty ſhould be left unreſolved in books which he

Digitized by Google

he finds himſelf invited to read, as confeſſed and eſtabliſhed models of ſtile. Theſe will be likewiſe pointed out by ſome note of excluſion, but not of diſgrace.

The words which are found only in particular books, will be known by the ſingle name of him that has uſed them; but ſuch will be omitted, unleſs either their propriety, elegance, or force, or the reputation of their authors, affords ſome extraordinary reaſon for their reception.

Words uſed in burleſque and familiar compoſitions, will be likewiſe mentioned with their proper authorities; ſuch as *dudgeon*, from *Butler*, and *leaſing*, from *Prior*; and will be diligently characteriſed by marks of diſtinction.

Barbarous, or impure words and expreſſions, may be branded with ſome note of infamy, as they are carefully to be eradicated wherever they are found; and they occur too frequently even in the beſt writers; as in *Pope*,

—— *in* endleſs error *hurl'd*,
Tis' theſe that early taint the female ſoul,

In *Addiſon*:

Attend to what a *leſſer* muſe indites.

And in *Dryden*,

A dreadful quiet felt, and *worſer* far
Than arms——

If this part of the Work can be well performed, it will be equivalent to the propoſal made by *Boileau* to the academicians, that they ſhould review all their polite writers, and correct ſuch impurities as might be found in them, that their authority might not contribute, at any diſtant time, to the depravation of the language.

With

Digitized by Google

With regard to queſtions of purity or propriety, I was once in doubt whether I ſhould not attribute too much to myſelf, in attempting to decide them, and whether my province was to extend beyond the propoſition of the queſtion, and the diſplay of the ſuffrages on each ſide; but I have been ſince determined, by your Lordſhip's opinion, to interpoſe my own judgment, and ſhall therefore endeavour to ſupport what appears to me moſt conſonant to grammar and reaſon. *Auſonius* thought that modeſty forbad him to plead inability for a taſk to which *Cæſar* had judged him equal.

Cur me poſſe negem poſſe quod ille putat?

And I may hope, my Lord, that ſince you, whoſe authority in our language is ſo generally acknowledged, have commiſſioned me to declare my own opinion, I ſhall be conſidered as exerciſing a kind of vicarious juriſdiction, and that the power which might have been denied to my own claim, will be readily allowed me as the delegate of your Lordſhip.

In citing authorities, on which the credit of every part of this Work muſt depend, it will be proper to obſerve ſome obvious rules; ſuch as of preferring writers of the firſt reputation to thoſe of an inferior rank; of noting the quotations with accuracy; and of ſelecting, when it can be conveniently done, ſuch ſentences, as, beſides their immediate uſe, may give pleaſure or inſtruction, by conveying ſome elegance of language, or ſome precept of prudence, or piety.

It has been aſked, on ſome occaſions, who ſhall judge the judges? And ſince, with regard to this deſign, a queſtion may ariſe by what authority the authorities

Digitized by Google

authorities are ſelected, it is neceſſary to obviate it, by declaring that many of the writers whoſe teſtimonies will be alledged, were ſelected by Mr. *Pope*; of whom I may be juſtified in affirming, that were he ſtill alive, ſolicitous as he was for the ſucceſs of this work, he would not be diſpleaſed that I have undertaken it.

It will be proper that the quotations be ranged according to the ages of their authors; and it will afford an agreeable amuſement, if to the words and phraſes which are not of our own growth, the name of the writer who firſt introduced them can be affixed; and if to words which are now antiquated, the authority be ſubjoined of him who laſt admitted them. Thus, for *ſcathe* and *buxom*, now obſolete, *Milton* may be cited,

———The mountain oak
Stands *ſcath'd* to heaven———

———He with broad ſails
Winnow'd the *buxom* air———

By this method every word will have its hiſtory, and the reader will be informed of the gradual changes of the language, and have before his eyes the riſe of ſome words, and the fall of others. But obſervations ſo minute and accurate are to be deſired, rather than expected; and if uſe be carefully ſupplied, curioſity muſt ſometimes bear its diſappointments.

This, my Lord, is my idea of an *Engliſh* Dictionary; a dictionary by which the pronunciation of our language may be fixed, and its attainment facilitated; by which its purity may be preſerved, its uſe aſcertained, and its duration lengthened. And though, perhaps, to correct the language of nations by

Digitized by Google

by books of grammar, and amend their manners by diſcourſes of morality, may be taſks equally difficult; yet, as it is unavoidable to wiſh, it is natural likewiſe to hope, that your Lordſhip's patronage may not be wholly loſt; that it may contribute to the preſervation of ancient, and the improvement of modern writers; that it may promote the reformation of thoſe tranſlators, who, for want of underſtanding the characteriſtical difference of tongues, have formed a chaotic dialect of heterogeneous phraſes; and awaken to the care of purer diction ſome men of genius, whoſe attention to argument makes them negligent of ſtile, or whoſe rapid imagination, like the *Peruvian* torrents, when it brings down gold, mingles it with ſand.

When I ſurvey the Plan which I have laid before you, I cannot, my Lord, but confeſs, that I am frighted at its extent, and, like the ſoldiers of *Cæſar*, look on *Britain* as a new world, which it is almoſt madneſs to invade. But I hope, that though I ſhould not complete the conqueſt, I ſhall at leaſt diſcover the coaſt, civilize part of the inhabitants, and make it eaſy for ſome other adventurer to proceed farther, to reduce them wholly to ſubjection, and ſettle them under laws.

We are taught by the great *Roman* orator, that every man ſhould propoſe to himſelf the higheſt degree of excellence, but that he may ſtop with honour at the ſecond or third: though therefore my performance ſhould fall below the excellence of other dictionaries, I may obtain, at leaſt, the praiſe of having endeavoured well; nor ſhall I think it any reproach to my diligence, that I have retired without a triumph,

Digitized by Google

a triumph, from a conteſt with united academies, and long ſucceſſions of learned compilers. I cannot hope, in the warmeſt moments, to preſerve ſo much caution through ſo long a work, as not often to ſink into negligence, or to obtain ſo much knowledge of all its parts as not frequently to fail by ignorance. I expect that ſometimes the deſire of accuracy will urge me to ſuperfluities, and ſometimes the fear of prolixity betray me to omiſſions: that in the extent of ſuch variety, I ſhall be often bewildered; and in the mazes of ſuch intricacy, be frequently entangled: that in one part refinement will be ſubtiliſed beyond exactneſs, and evidence dilated in another beyond perſpicuity. Yet I do not deſpair of approbation from thoſe who, knowing the uncertainty of conjecture, the ſcantineſs of knowledge, the fallibility of memory, and the unſteadineſs of attention, can compare the cauſes of error with the means of avoiding it, and the extent of art with the capacity of man; and whatever be the event of my endeavours, I ſhall not eaſily regret an attempt which has procured me the honour of appearing thus publicly,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

and moſt humble ſervant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Digitized by Google

PREFACE

TO THE

ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

IT is the fate of thoſe who toil at the lower employments of life, to be rather driven by the fear of evil, than attracted by the proſpect of good; to be expoſed to cenſure, without hope of praiſe; to be diſgraced by miſcarriage, or puniſhed for neglect, where ſucceſs would have been without applauſe, and diligence without reward.

Among theſe unhappy mortals is the writer of dictionaries; whom mankind have conſidered, not as the pupil, but the ſlave of ſcience, the pioneer of literature, doomed only to remove rubbiſh and clear obſtructions from the paths through which Learning and Genius preſs forward to conqueſt and glory, without beſtowing a ſmile on the humble drudge that facilitates their progreſs. Every other author may aſpire to praiſe; the lexicographer can only hope to eſcape reproach, and even this negative recompence has been yet granted to very few.

I have, notwithſtanding this diſcouragement, attempted a Dictionary of the *Engliſh* language, which, while

Digitized by Google

while it was employed in the cultivation of every ſpecies of literature, has itſelf been hitherto neglected; ſuffered to ſpread, under the direction of chance, into wild exuberance; reſigned to the tyranny of time and faſhion; and expoſed to the corruptions of ignorance, and caprices of innovation.

When I took the firſt ſurvey of my undertaking, I found our ſpeech copious without order, and energetick without rule: wherever I turned my view, there was perplexity to be diſentangled and confuſion to be regulated; choice was to be made out of boundleſs variety, without any eſtabliſhed principle of ſelection; adulterations were to be detected, without a ſettled teſt of purity; and modes of expreſſion to be rejected or received, without the ſuffrages of any writers of claſſical reputation or acknowledged authority.

Having therefore no aſſiſtance but from general grammar, I applied myſelf to the peruſal of our writers; and noting whatever might be of uſe to aſcertain or illuſtrate any word or phraſe, accumulated in time the materials of a dictionary, which, by degrees, I reduced to method, eſtabliſhing to myſelf, in the progreſs of the work, ſuch rules as experience and analogy ſuggeſted to me; experience, which practice and obſervation were continually increaſing; and analogy, which, though in ſome words obſcure, was evident in others.

In adjuſting the *Orthography*, which has been to this time unſettled and fortuitous, I found it neceſſary to diſtinguiſh thoſe irregularities that are inherent in our tongue, and perhaps coëval with it, from

Digitized by Google

from others which the ignorance or negligence of later writers has produced. Every language has its anomalies, which though inconvenient, and in themſelves once unneceſſary, muſt be tolerated among the imperfections of human things, and which require only to be regiſtered, that they may not be increaſed, and aſcertained, that they may not be confounded: but every language has likewiſe its improprieties and abſurdities, which it is the duty of the lexicographer to correct or proſcribe.

As language was at its beginning merely oral, all words of neceſſary or common uſe were ſpoken before they were written; and while they were unfixed by any viſible ſigns, muſt have been ſpoken with great diverſity, as we now obſerve thoſe who cannot read to catch ſounds imperfectly, and utter them negligently. When this wild and barbarous jargon was firſt reduced to an alphabet, every penman endeavoured to expreſs, as he could, the ſounds which he was accuſtomed to pronounce or to receive, and vitiated in writing ſuch words as were already vitiated in ſpeech. The powers of the letters, when they were applied to a new language, muſt have been vague and unſettled, and therefore different hands would exhibit the ſame ſound by different combinations.

From this uncertain pronunciation ariſe in a great part the various dialects of the ſame country, which will always be obſerved to grow fewer, and leſs different, as books are multiplied; and from this arbitrary repreſentation of ſounds by letters proceeds that diverſity of ſpelling, obſervable in the *Saxon* remains,

Digitized by Google

mains, and I ſuppoſe in the firſt books of every nation, which perplexes or deſtroys analogy, and produces anomalous formations, which, being once incorporated, can never be afterward diſmiſſed or reformed.

Of this kind are the derivatives *length* from *long*, *ſtrength* from *ſtrong*, *darling* from *dear*, *breadth* from *broad*, from *dry*, *drought*, and from *high*, *height*, which *Milton*, in zeal for analogy, writes *highth*: *Quid te exempta juvat ſpinis de pluribus una?* to change all would be too much, and to change one is nothing.

This uncertainty is moſt frequent in the vowels, which are ſo capriciouſly pronounced, and ſo differently modified, by accident or affectation, not only in every province, but in every mouth, that to them as is well known to etymologiſts, little regard is to be ſhewn in the deduction of one language from another.

Such defects are not errours in orthography, but ſpots of barbarity impreſſed ſo deep in the *Engliſh* language, that criticiſm can never waſh them away: theſe, therefore, muſt be permitted to remain untouched; but many words have likewiſe been altered by accident, or depraved by ignorance, as the pronunciation of the vulgar has been weakly followed; and ſome ſtill continue to be variouſly written, as authors differ in their care or ſkill: of theſe it was proper to enquire the true orthography, which I have always conſidered as depending on their derivation, and have therefore referred them to their original languages: thus I write *enchant*, *enchantment*, *enchanter*, after the *French*, and *incantation* after the *Latin*;

Digitized by Google

Latin; thus *entire* is chosen rather than *intire*, because it passed to us not from the *Latin integer*, but from the *French entier*.

Of many words it is difficult to say whether they were immediately received from the *Latin* or the *French*, since at the time when we had dominions in *France*, we had *Latin* service in our churches. It is, however, my opinion, that the *French* generally supplied us; for we have few *Latin* words, among the terms of domestick use, which are not *French*; but many *French*, which are very remote from *Latin*.

Even in words of which the derivation is apparent, I have been often obliged to sacrifice uniformity to custom; thus I write, in compliance with a numberless majority, *convey* and *inveigh*, *deceit* and *receipt*, *fancy* and *phantom*; sometimes the derivative varies from the primitive, as *explain* and *explanation*, *repeat*, and *repetition*.

Some combinations of letters having the same power, are used indifferently without any discoverable reason of choice, as in *choak*, *choke*; *soap*, *sope*; *jewel*, *fuel*, and many others; which I have sometimes inserted twice, that those who search for them under either form, may not search in vain.

In examining the orthography of any doubtful word, the mode of spelling by which it is inserted in the series of the dictionary, is to be considered as that to which I give, perhaps not often rashly, the preference. I have left, in the examples, to every author his own practice unmolested, that the reader may balance suffrages, and judge between us: but this question is not always to be determined by reputed or by real learning; some men, intent upon

Digitized by Google

greater things, have thought little on ſounds and derivations; ſome, knowing in the ancient tongues, have neglected thoſe in which our words are commonly to be ſought. Thus *Hammond* writes *feciбleneſs* for *feaſibleneſs*, becauſe I ſuppoſe he imagined it derived immediately from the *Latin*; and ſome words, ſuch as *dependant*, *dependent*; *dependance*, *dependence*, vary their final ſyllable, as one or other language is preſent to the writer.

In this part of the work, where caprice has long wantoned without control, and vanity ſought praiſe by petty reformation, I have endeavoured to proceed with a ſcholar's reverence for antiquity, and a grammarian's regard to the genius of our tongue. I have attempted few alterations, and among thoſe few, perhaps the greater part is from the modern to the ancient practice; and I hope I may be allowed to recommend to thoſe, whoſe thoughts have been perhaps employed too anxiouſly on verbal ſingularities, not to diſturb, upon narrow views, or for minute propriety, the orthography of their fathers. It has been aſſerted, that for the law to be *known*, is of more importance than to be *right*. 'Change,' ſays *Hooker*, 'is not made without inconvenience, even from worſe to better.' There is in conſtancy and ſtability a general and laſting advantage, which will always overbalance the ſlow improvements of gradual correction. Much leſs ought our written language to comply with the corruptions of oral utterance, or copy that which every variation of time or place makes different from itſelf, and imitate thoſe changes, which will again be changed, while imitation is employed in obſerving them.

This

Digitized by Google

This recommendation of ſteadineſs and uniformity does not proceed from an opinion that particular combinations of letters have much influence on human happineſs; or that truth may not be ſucceſsfully taught by modes of ſpelling fanciful and erroneous: I am not yet ſo loſt in lexicography as to forget that *words are the daughters of earth, and that things are the ſons of heaven.* Language is only the inſtrument of ſcience, and words are but the ſigns of ideas: I wiſh, however, that the inſtrument might be leſs apt to decay, and that ſigns might be permanent, like the things which they denote.

In ſettling the orthography, I have not wholly neglected the pronunciation, which I have directed, by printing an accent upon the acute or elevated ſyllable. It will ſometimes be found that the accent is placed by the author quoted, on a different ſyllable from that marked in the alphabetical ſeries; it is then to be underſtood, that cuſtom has varied, or that the author has, in my opinion, pronounced wrong. Short directions are ſometimes given where the ſound of letters is irregular; and if they are ſometimes omitted, defect in ſuch minute obſervations will be more eaſily excuſed, than ſuperfluity.

In the inveſtigation both of the orthography and ſignification of words, their *Etymology* was neceſſarily to be conſidered, and they were therefore to be divided into primitives and derivatives. A primitive word, is that which can be traced no further to any *Engliſh* root; thus *circumſpect*, *circumvent*, *circumſtance*, *delude*, *concave*, and *complicate*, though compounds in the *Latin*, are to us primitives. Derivatives,

Digitized by Google

tives, are all thoſe that can be referred to any word in *Engliſh* of greater ſimplicity.

The derivatives I have referred to their primitives, with an accuracy ſometimeſs needleſs; for who does not ſee that *remoteneſs* comes from *remote*, *lovely* from *love*, *concavity* from *concave*, and *demonſtrative* from *demonſtrate?* But this grammatical exuberance the ſcheme of my work did not allow me to repreſs. It is of great importance, in examining the general fabrick of a language, to trace one word from another, by noting the uſual modes of derivation and inflection; and uniformity muſt be preſerved in ſyſtematical works; though ſometimes at the expence of particular propriety.

Among other derivatives I have been careful to inſert and elucidate the anomalous plurals of nouns and preterites of verbs, which in the *Teutonick* dialects are very frequent, and, though familiar to thoſe who have always uſed them, interrupt and embarraſs the learners of our language.

The two languages from which our primatives have been derived are the *Roman* and *Teutonick*: under the *Roman* I comprehend the *French* and provincial tongues; and under the *Teutonick* range the *Saxon*, *German*, and all their kindred dialects. Moſt of our polyſyllables are *Roman*, and our words of one ſyllable are very often *Teutonick*.

In aſſigning the *Roman* original, it has perhaps ſometimes happened that I have mentioned only the *Latin*, when the word was borrowed from the *French*; and conſidering myſelf as employed only in the illuſtration of my own language, I have not been very careful to obſerve whether the *Latin* word be pure

Digitized by Google

pure or barbarous, or the *French* elegant or obſolete.

For the *Teutonick* etymologies, I am commonly indebted to *Junius* and *Skinner*, the only names which I have forborne to quote when I copied their books; not that I might appropriate their labours or uſurp their honours, but that I might ſpare a perpetual repetition by one general acknowledgment. Of theſe, whom I ought not to mention but with the reverence due to inſtructors and benefactors, *Junius* appears to have excelled in extent of learning, and *Skinner* in rectitude of underſtanding. *Junius* was accurately ſkilled in all the northern languages, *Skinner* probably examined the ancient and remoter dialects only by occaſional inſpection into dictionaries; but the learning of *Junius* is often of no other uſe than to ſhew him a track by which he may deviate from his purpoſe, to which *Skinner* always preſſes forward by the ſhorteſt way. *Skinner* is often ignorant, but never ridiculous: *Junius* is always full of knowledge; but his variety diſtracts his judgment, and his learning is very frequently diſgraced by his abſurdities.

The votaries of the northern muſes will not perhaps eaſily reſtrain their indignation, when they find the name of *Junius* thus degraded by a diſadvantageous compariſon; but whatever reverence is due to his diligence, or his attainments, it can be no criminal degree of cenſoriouſneſs to charge that etymologiſt with want of judgment, who can ſeriouſly derive *dream* from *drama*, becauſe *life is a drama and a drama is a dream*; and who declares with a tone of defiance, that no man can fail to derive

Digitized by Google

moan from μονος, *monos*, *ſingle* or *ſolitary*, who conſiders that grief naturally loves to be alone *.

Our knowledge of the northern literature is ſo ſcanty, that of words undoubtedly *Teutonick*, the original is not always to be found in any ancient language;

* That I may not appear to have ſpoken too irreverently of *Junius*, I have here ſubjoined a few ſpecimens of his etymological extravagance:

BANISH, *religare, ex banno vel territorio exigere* in *exilium agere*. G. *bannir*. It. *bandire, bandeggiare*. H. *bandir*. B. bannen. Ævi medii ſcriptores bannire dicebant. V. Spelm. in Bannum & in Banleuga. Quoniam verò regionum urbiumq; limites arduis plerumq; montibus, altis fluminibus, longis deniq; flexuoſiſq; anguſtiſſimarum viarum amfractibus includebantur, fieri poteſt id genus limites *ban* dici ab eo quod βανάται & βάνατοι Tarentinis olim, ſicuti tradit Heſychius, vocabantur αἱ λοξαὶ καὶ μὴ ἰθυτενεῖς ὁδοι, "obliquæ ac minimè in rectum tendentes viæ." Ac fortaſſe quoque huc facit quod βανὲς, eodem Heſychio teſte, dicebant ὄρη τραγγύλη, montes arduos.

EMPTY, emtie, *vacuus, inanis*. A. S. Æmtig Neſcio an ſint ab ἰμάω vel ἐμέλαιω. Vomo, evomo, vomitu evacuo. Videtur interim etymologiam hanc non obſcurè firmare codex Ruſſ. Mat. xii. 22. ubi antiquè ſcriptum invenimus ȝemoetеb hit emetiȝ. "Invenit eam vacantem."

HILL, *mons collis*. A. S. hỳll. Quod videri poteſt abſciſſum ex κολώνη vel κολωνὸς. Collis, tumulus, locus in plano editior. Hom. Il. b. v. 811. ἔχι δέ τις πρόπάροιθε πόλεος ἀπιεῖα κολώνη. Ubi authori brevium ſcholiorum κολώνη exp. τόπος εις ὕψος ἀνήκων, γεώλοφος ἐξοχή.

NAP, *to take a nap*. *Dormire, condormiſcere*. Cym. heppian. A. S. hnæppan. Quod poſtremum videri poteſt deſumptum ex νείφας, obſcuritas, tenebræ: nihil enim æque ſolet conciliare ſomnum, quàm caliginoſa profundæ noctis obſcuritas.

STAMMERER, Balbus, blæſus. Goth. STAMMS. A. S. ſtamen, ſtamun. D. ſtam. B. ſtameler. Su. ſtamma. Iſl. ſtamr. Sunt a ſωμύλειν vel ſωμύλλειν, nimiâ loquacitate alios offendere; quod impeditè loquentes libentiſſimè garrire ſoleant; vel quòd aliis nimii ſemper videantur, etiam parciſſimè loquentes.

Digitized by Google

guage; and I have therefore inſerted *Dutch* or *German* ſubſtitutes, which I conſider not as radical, but parallel, not as the parents, but ſiſters of the *Engliſh*.

The words which are repreſented as thus related by deſcent or cognation, do not always agree in ſenſe; for it is incident to words, as to their authors, to degenerate from their anceſtors, and to change their manners when they change their country. It is ſufficient, in etymological enquiries, if the ſenſes of kindred words be found ſuch as may eaſily paſs into each other, or ſuch as may both be referred to one general idea.

The etymology, ſo far as it is yet known, was eaſily found in the volumes, where it is particularly and profeſſedly delivered; and, by proper attention to the rules of derivation, the orthography was ſoon adjuſted. But to *collect* the *Words* of our language was a taſk of greater difficulty: the deficiency of dictionaries was immediately apparent; and when they were exhauſted, what was yet wanting muſt be ſought by fortuitous and unguided excurſions into books, and gleaned as induſtry ſhould find, or chance ſhould offer it, in the boundleſs chaos of a living ſpeech. My ſearch, however, has been either ſkilful or lucky; for I have much augmented the vocabulary.

As my deſign was a dictionary, common or appellative, I have omitted all words which have relation to proper names; ſuch as *Arian*, *Socinian*, *Calviniſt*, *Benedictine*, *Mahometan*; but have retained thoſe of a more general nature, as *Heathen*, *Pagan*.

Of

Digitized by Google

Of the terms of art I have received ſuch as could be found either in books of ſcience or technical dictionaries; and have often inſerted, from philoſophical writers, words which are ſupported perhaps only by a ſingle authority, and which being not admitted into general uſe, ſtand yet as candidates or probationers, and muſt depend for their adoption on the ſuffrage of futurity.

The words which our authors have introduced by their knowledge of foreign languages, or ignorance of their own, by vanity or wantonneſs, by compliance with faſhion or luſt of innovation, I have regiſtered as they occurred, though commonly only to cenſure them, and warn others againſt the folly of naturalizing uſeleſs foreigners to the injury of the natives.

I have not rejected any by deſign, merely becauſe they were unneceſſary or exuberant; but have received thoſe which by different writers have been differently formed, as *viſcid*, and *viſcidity*, *viſcous*, and *viſcoſity*.

Compounded or double words I have ſeldom noted, except when they obtain a ſignification different from that which the components have in their ſimple ſtate. Thus *highwayman*, *woodman*, and *horſecourſer*, require an explanation; but of *thieflike*, or *coachdriver* no notice was needed, becauſe the primitives contain the meaning of the compounds.

Words arbitrarily formed by a conſtant and ſettled analogy, like diminutive adjectives in *iſh*, as *greeniſh*, *bluiſh*; adverbs in *ly*, as *dully*, *openly*; ſubſtantives in *neſs*, as *vileneſs*; *faultineſs*; were leſs diligently ſought, and many ſometimes have been omitted, when I had

Digitized by Google

had no authority that invited me to inſert them; not that they are not genuine and regular offſprings of *Engliſh* roots, but becauſe their relation to the primitive being always the ſame, their ſignification cannot be miſtaken.

Th^ verbal nouns in *ing*, ſuch as the *keeping* of the *caſtle*, the *leading* of the *army*, are always neglected, or placed only to illuſtrate the ſenſe of the verb, except when they ſignify things as well as actions, and have therefore a plural number, as *dwelling*, *living*; or have an abſolute and abſtract ſignification, as *colouring*, *painting*, *learning*.

The participles are likewiſe omitted, unleſs, by ſignifying rather habit or quality than action, they take the nature of adjectives; as a *thinking* man, a man of prudence; a *pacing* horſe, a horſe that can pace: theſe I have ventured to call *participial adjectives*. But neither are theſe always inſerted, becauſe they are commonly to be underſtood without any danger of miſtake, by conſulting the verb.

Obſolete words are admitted when they are found in authors not obſolete, or when they have any force or beauty that may deſerve revival.

As compoſition is one of the chief characteriſticks of a language, I have endeavoured to make ſome reparation for the univerſal negligence of my predeceſſors, by inſerting great numbers of compounded words, as may be found under *after*, *fore*, *new*, *night*, *fair*, and many more. Theſe, numerous as they are, might be multiplied, but that uſe and curioſity are here ſatisfied, and the frame of our language and modes of our combination amply diſcovered.

Of

Digitized by Google

Of ſome forms of compoſition, ſuch as that by which *re* is prefixed to note *repetition*, and *un* to ſignify *contrariety* or *privation*, all the examples cannot be accumulated, becauſe the uſe of theſe particles, if not wholly arbitrary, is ſo little limited, that they are hourly affixed to new words as occaſion requires, or is imagined to require them.

There is another kind of compoſition more frequent in our language than perhaps in any other, from which ariſes to foreigners the greateſt difficulty. We modify the ſignification of many verbs by a particle ſubjoined; as to *come off*, to eſcape by a fetch; to *fall on*, to attack; to *fall off*, to apoſtatize; to *break off*, to ſtop abruptly; to *bear out*, to juſtify; to *fall in*, to comply; to *give over*, to ceaſe; to *ſet off*, to embelliſh; to *ſet in*, to begin a continual tenour; to *ſet out*, to begin a courſe or journey; to *take off*, to copy; with innumerable expreſſions of the ſame kind, of which ſome appear wildly irregular, being ſo far diſtant from the ſenſe of the ſimple words, that no ſagacity will be able to trace the ſteps by which they arrived at the preſent uſe. Theſe I have noted with great care; and though I cannot flatter myſelf that the collection is complete, I believe I have ſo far aſſiſted the ſtudents of our language, that this kind of phraſeology will be no longer inſuperable; and the combinations of verbs and particles, by chance omitted, will be eaſily explained by compariſon with thoſe that may be found.

Many words yet ſtand ſupported only by the name of *Bailey*, *Ainſworth*, *Philips*, or the contracted *Dict.* for *Dictionaries* ſubjoined; of theſe I am not always certain that they are read in any book but the works

Digitized by Google

of lexicographers. Of ſuch I have omitted many, becauſe I had never read them; and many I have inſerted, becauſe they may perhaps exiſt, though they have eſcaped my notice: they are, however, to be yet conſidered as reſting only upon the credit of former dictionaries. Others, which I conſidered as uſeful, or know to be proper, though I could not at preſent ſupport them by authorities, I have ſuffered to ſtand upon my own atteſtation, claiming the ſame privilege with my predeceſſors, of being ſometimes credited without proof.

The words, thus ſelected and diſpoſed, are grammatically conſidered; they are referred to the different parts of ſpeech; traced when they are irregularly inflected, through their various terminations; and illuſtrated by obſervations, not indeed of great or ſtriking importance, ſeparately conſidered, but neceſſary to the elucidation of our language, and hitherto neglected or forgotten by *Engliſh* grammarians.

That part of my work on which I expect malignity moſt frequently to faſten, is the *explanation*; in which I cannot hope to ſatisfy thoſe, who are perhaps not inclined to be pleaſed, ſince I have not always been able to ſatisfy myſelf. To interpret a language by itſelf is very difficult; many words cannot be explained by ſynonimes, becauſe the idea ſignified by them has not more than one appellation; nor by paraphraſe, becauſe ſimple ideas cannot be deſcribed. When the nature of things is unknown, or the notion unſettled and indefinite, and various in various minds, the words by which ſuch notions are conveyed, or ſuch things denoted, will be ambiguous

Digitized by Google

biguous and perplexed. And ſuch is the fate of hapleſs lexicography, that not only darkneſs, but light, impedes and diſtreſſes it; things may be not only too little, but too much known, to be happily illuſtrated. To explain, requires the uſe of terms leſs abſtruſe than that which is to be explained, and ſuch terms cannot always be found; for as nothing can be proved but by ſuppoſing ſomething intuitively known, and evident without proof, ſo nothing can be defined but by the uſe of words too plain to admit a definition.

Other words there are, of which the ſenſe is too ſubtle and evaneſcent to be fixed in a paraphraſe; ſuch are all thoſe which are by the grammarians termed *expletives*, and, in dead languages, are ſuffered to paſs for empty ſounds, of no other uſe than to fill a verſe, or to modulate a period, but which are eaſily perceived in living tongues to have power and emphaſis, though it be ſometimes ſuch as no other form of expreſſion can convey.

My labour has likewiſe been much increaſed by a claſs of verbs too frequent in the *Engliſh* language, of which the ſignification is ſo looſe and general, the uſe ſo vague and indeterminate, and the ſenſes detorted ſo widely from the firſt idea, that it is hard to trace them through the maze of variation, to catch them on the brink of utter inanity, to circumſcribe them by any limitations, or interpret them by any words of diſtinct and ſettled meaning; ſuch are *bear*, *break*, *come*, *caſt*, *full*, *get*, *give*, *do*, *put*, *ſet*, *go*, *run*, *make*, *take*, *turn*, *throw*. If of theſe the whole power is not accurately delivered, it muſt be remembered, that while our language is yet living,

Digitized by Google

and variable by the caprice of every one that ſpeaks it, theſe words are hourly ſhifting their relations, and can no more be aſcertained in a dictionary, than a grove, in the agitation of a ſtorm, can be accurately delineated from its picture in the water.

The particles are among all nations applied with ſo great latitude, that they are not eaſily reducible under any regular ſcheme of explication: this difficulty is not leſs, nor perhaps greater, in *Engliſh*, than in other languages. I have laboured them with diligence, I hope with ſucceſs; ſuch at leaſt as can be expected in a taſk, which no man, however learned or ſagacious, has yet been able to perfom.

Some words there are which I cannot explain, becauſe I do not underſtand them; theſe might have been omitted very often with little inconvenience, but I would not ſo far indulge my vanity as to decline this confeſſion: for when *Tully* owns himſelf ignorant whether *leſſus*, in the twelve tables, means a *funeral ſong*, or *mourning garment*; and *Ariſtotle* doubts whether οὖρευς in the Iliad, ſignifies a *mule*, or *muleteer*, I may ſurely without ſhame, leave ſome obſcurities to happier induſtry, or future information.

The rigour of interpretative lexicography requires that *the explanation, and the word explained, ſhould be always reciprocal*; this I have always endeavoured, but could not always attain. Words are ſeldom exactly ſynonimous; a new term was not introduced, but becauſe the former was thought inadequate: names, therefore, have often many ideas, but few ideas have many names. It was then neceſſary to uſe the proximate word, for the deficiency of ſingle terms

Digitized by Google

terms can very ſeldom be ſupplied by circumlocution; nor is the inconvenience great of ſuch mutilated interpretations, becauſe the ſenſe may eaſily be collected entire from the examples.

In every word of extenſive uſe, it was requiſite to mark the progreſs of its meaning, and ſhew by what gradations of intermediate ſenſe it has paſſed from its primitive to its remote and accidental ſignification; ſo that every foregoing explanation ſhould tend to that which follows, and the ſeries be regularly concatinated from the firſt notion to the laſt.

This is ſpecious, but not always practicable; kindred ſenſes may be ſo interwoven, that the perplexity cannot be diſentangled, nor any reaſon be aſſigned why one ſhould be ranged before the other. When the radical idea branches out into parallel ramifications, how can a conſecutive ſeries be formed of ſenſes in their nature collateral? The ſhades of meaning ſometimes paſs imperceptibly into each other, ſo that though on one ſide they apparently differ, yet it is impoſſible to mark the point of contact. Ideas of the ſame race, though not exactly alike, are ſometimes ſo little different, that no words can expreſs the diſſimilitude, though the mind eaſily perceives it when they are exhibited together; and ſometimes there is ſuch a confuſion of acceptations, that diſcernment is wearied, and diſtinction puzzled, and perſeverance herſelf hurries to an end, by crowding together what ſhe cannot ſeparate.

Theſe complaints of difficulty will, by thoſe that have never conſidered words beyond their popular uſe, be thought only the jargon of a man willing to magnify his labours, and procure veneration to his ſtudies

Digitized by Google

ſtudies by involution and obſcurity. But every art is obſcure to thoſe that have not learned it: this uncertainty of terms, and commixture of ideas, is well known to thoſe who have joined philoſophy with grammar; and if I have not expreſſed them very clearly, it muſt be remembered that I am ſpeaking of that which words are inſufficient to explain.

The original ſenſe of words is often driven out of uſe by their metaphorical acceptations, yet muſt be inſerted for the ſake of a regular origination. Thus I know not whether *ardour* is uſed for *material heat*, or whether *flagrant*, in *Engliſh* ever ſignifies the ſame with *burning*; yet ſuch are the primitive ideas of theſe words, which are therefore ſet firſt, though without examples, that the figurative ſenſes may be commodiouſly deduced.

Such is the exuberance of ſignification which many words have obtained, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to collect all their ſenſes; ſometimes the meaning of derivatives muſt be ſought in the mother term, and ſometimes deficient explanations of the primitive may be ſupplied in the train of derivation. In any caſe of doubt or difficulty, it will be always proper to examine all the words of the ſame race; for ſome words are ſlightly paſſed over to avoid repetition, ſome admitted eaſier and clearer explanation than others, and all will be better underſtood, as they are conſidered in greater variety of ſtructures and relations.

All the interpretations of words are not written with the ſame ſkill, or the ſame happineſs: things equally eaſy in themſelves, are not all equally eaſy to any ſingle mind. Every writer of a long work

Digitized by Google

commits errours, where there appears neither ambiguity to miſlead, nor obſcurity to confound him; and in a ſearch like this, many felicities of expreſſion will be caſually overlooked, many convenient parrallels will be forgotten, and many particulars will admit improvement from a mind utterly unequal to the whole performance.

But many ſeeming faults are to be imputed rather to the nature of the undertaking, than the negligence of the performer. Thus ſome explanations are unavoidably reciprocal or circular, as *hind, the female of the ſtag*; *ſtag, the male of the hind:* ſometimes eaſier words are changed into harder, as *burial* into *ſepulture*, or *interment*, *drier* into *deſiccative*, *dryneſs* into *ſiccity* or *aridity*, *fit* into *paroxyſm*; for the eaſieſt word, whatever it be, can never be tranſlated into one more eaſy. But eaſineſs and difficulty are merely relative; and if the preſent prevalence of our language ſhould invite foreigners to this Dictionary, many will be aſſiſted by thoſe words which now ſeem only to increaſe or produce obſcurity. For this reaſon I have endeavoured frequently to join a *Teutonick* and *Roman* interpretation, as to *cheer*, to *gladden*, or *exhilarate*, that every learner of *Engliſh* may be aſſiſted by his own tongue.

The ſolution of all difficulties, and the ſupply of all defects muſt be ſought in the examples, ſubjoined to the various ſenſes of each word, and ranged according to the time of their authors.

When I firſt collected theſe authorities, I was deſirous that every quotation ſhould be uſeful to ſome other end than the illuſtration of a word; I therefore extracted from philoſophers principles of

Digitized by Google

ſcience; from hiſtorians remarkable facts; from chymiſts complete proceſſes; from divines ſtriking exhortations; and from poets beautiful deſcriptions. Such is deſign, while it is yet at a diſtance from execution. When the time called upon me to range this accumulation of elegance and wiſdom into an alphabetical ſeries, I ſoon diſcovered that the bulk of my volumes would fright away the ſtudent, and was forced to depart from my ſcheme of including all that was pleaſing or uſeful in *Engliſh* literature, and reduce my tranſcripts very often to cluſters of words, in which ſcarcely any meaning is retained; thus to the wearineſs of copying, I was condemned to add the vexation of expunging. Some paſſages I have yet ſpared, which may relieve the labour of verbal ſearches, and interſperſe with verdure and flowers the duſty deſarts of barren philology.

The examples, thus mutilated, are no longer to be conſidered as conveying the ſentiments or doctrine of their authors; the word for the ſake of which they are inſerted, with all its appendant clauſes, has been carefully preſerved; but it may ſometimes happen, by haſty detruncation, that the general tendency of the ſentence may be changed: the divine may deſert his tenets, or the philoſopher his ſyſtem.

Some of the examples have been taken from writers who were never mentioned as maſters of elegance, or models of ſtyle; but words muſt be ſought where they are uſed; and in what pages, eminent for purity, can terms of manufacture or agriculture be found? Many quotations ſerve no

Digitized by Google

other purpoſe than that of proving the bare exiſtence of words, and are therefore ſelected with leſs ſcrupulouſneſs than thoſe which are to teach their ſtructures and relations.

My purpoſe was to admit no teſtimony of living authors, that I might not be miſled by partiality, and that none of my cotemporaries might have reaſon to complain; nor have I depated from this reſolution, but when ſome performance of uncommon excellence excited my veneration, when my memory ſupplied me, from late books, with an example that was wanting, or when my heart, in the tenderneſs of friendſhip, ſolicited admiſſion for a favourite name.

So far have I been from any care to grace my pages with modern decorations, that I have ſtudiouſly endeavoured to collect examples and authorities from the writers before the reſtoration, whoſe works I regard as *the wells of Engliſh undefiled*, as the pure ſources of genuine diction. Our language, for almoſt a century, has, by the concurrence of many cauſes, been gradually departing from its original *Teutonick* character, and deviating towards a *Gallick* ſtructure and phraſeology, from which it ought to be our endeavour to recal it, by making our ancient volumes the ground-work of ſtyle, admitting among the additions of later times, only ſuch as may ſupply real deficiencies, ſuch as are readily adopted by the genius of our tongue, and incorporate eaſily with our native idioms.

But as every language has a time of rudeneſs antecedent to perfection, as well as of falſe refinement and declenſion, I have been cautious leſt my zeal for antiquity might drive me into times too remote, and

Digitized by Google

and crowd my book with words now no longer underſtood. I have fixed *Sidney's* work for the boundary, beyond which I make few excurſions. From the authors which roſe in the time of *Elizabeth*, a ſpeech might be formed adequate to all the purpoſes of uſe and elegance. If the language of theology were extracted from *Hooker* and the tranſlation of the Bible; the terms of natural knowledge from *Bacon*; the phraſes of policy, war, and navigation from *Raleigh*; the dialect of poetry and fiction from *Spenſer* and *Sidney*; and the diction of common life from *Shakeſpeare*, few ideas would be loſt to mankind, for want of *Engliſh* words, in which they might be expreſſed.

It is not ſufficient that a word is found, unleſs it be ſo combined as that its meaning is apparently determined by the tract and tenour of the ſentence; ſuch paſſages I have therefore choſen, and when it happened that any author gave a definition of a term, or ſuch an explanation as is equivalent to a definition, I have placed his authority as a ſupplement to my own, without regard to the chronological order, that is otherwiſe obſerved.

Some words, indeed, ſtand unſupported by any authority, but they are commonly derivative nouns or adverbs, formed from their primitives by regular and conſtant analogy, or names of things ſeldom occurring in books, or words of which I have reaſon to doubt the exiſtence.

There is more danger of cenſure from the multiplicity than paucity of examples; authorities will ſometimes ſeem to have been accumulated without neceſſity or uſe, and perhaps ſome will be found, which might, without loſs, have been omitted.

Digitized by Google

But a work of this kind is not haſtily to be charged with ſuperfluities; thoſe quotations, which to careleſs or unſkilful peruſers appear only to repeat the ſame ſenſe, will often exhibit, to a more accurate examiner, diverſities of ſignification, or, at leaſt, afford different ſhades of the ſame meaning: one will ſhew the word applied to perſons, another to things; one will expreſs an ill, another a good, and a third a neutral ſenſe; one will prove the expreſſion genuine from an ancient author; another will ſhew it elegant from a modern: a doubtful authority is corroborated by another of more credit; an ambiguous ſentence is aſcertained by a paſſage clear and determinate: the word, how often ſoever repeated, appears with new aſſociates and in different combinations, and every quotation contributes ſomething to the ſtability or enlargement of the language.

When words are uſed equivocally, I receive them in either ſenſe; when they are metaphorical, I adopt them in their primitive acceptation.

I have ſometimes, though rarely, yielded to the temptation of exhibiting a genealogy of ſentiments, by ſhewing how one author copied the thoughts and diction of another: ſuch quotations are indeed little more than repetitions, which might juſtly be cenſured, did they not gratify the mind, by affording a kind of intellectual hiſtory.

The various ſyntactical ſtructures occurring in the examples have been carefully noted; the licence or negligence with which many words have been hitherto uſed, has made our ſtyle capricious and indeterminate; when the different combinations of the ſame word are exhibited together, the preference is readily

Digitized by Google

readily given to propriety, and I have often endeavoured to direct the choice.

Thus have I laboured by ſettling the orthography, diſplaying the analogy, regulating the ſtructures, and aſcertaining the ſignification of *Engliſh* words, to perform all the parts of a faithful lexicographer: but I have not always executed my own ſcheme, or ſatisfied my own expectations. The work, whatever proofs of diligence and attention it may exhibit, is yet capable of many improvements: the orthography which I recommend is ſtill controvertible; the etymology which I adopt is uncertain, and perhaps frequently erroneous; the explanations are ſometimes too much contracted, and ſometimes too much diffuſed, the ſignifications are diſtinguiſhed rather with ſubtility than ſkill, and the attention is harraſſed with unneceſſary minuteneſs.

The examples are too often injudiciouſly truncated, and perhaps ſometimes, I hope very rarely, alleged in a miſtaken ſenſe; for in making this collection I truſted more to memory, than, in a ſtate of diſquiet and embarraſſment, memory can contain, and purpoſed to ſupply at the review what was left incomplete in the firſt tranſcription.

Many terms appropriated to particular occupations, though neceſſary and ſignificant, are undoubtedly omitted; and of the words moſt ſtudiouſly conſidered and exemplified, many ſenſes have eſcaped obſervation.

Yet theſe failures, however frequent, may admit extenuation and apology. To have attempted much is always laudable, even when the enterprize

Digitized by Google

is above the ſtrength that undertakes it: To reſt below his own aim is incident to every one whoſe fancy is active, and whoſe views are comprehenſive; nor is any man ſatisfied with himſelf becauſe he has done much, but becauſe he can conceive little. When firſt I engaged in this work, I reſolved to leave neither words nor things unexamined, and pleaſed myſelf with a proſpect of the hours which I ſhould revel away in feaſts of literature, the obſcure receſſes of northern learning which I ſhould enter and ranſack, the treaſures with which I expected every ſearch into thoſe neglected mines to reward my labour, and the triumph with which I ſhould diſplay my acquiſitions to mankind. When I had thus enquired into the original of words, I reſolved to ſhew likewiſe my attention to things; to pierce deep into every ſcience, to enquire the nature of every ſubſtance of which I inſerted the name, to limit every idea by a definition ſtrictly logical, and exhibit every production of art or nature in an accurate deſcription, that my book might be in place of all other dictionaries whether appellative or technical. But theſe were the dreams of a poet doomed at laſt to wake a lexicographer. I ſoon found that it is too late to look for inſtruments, when the work calls for execution, and that whatever abilities I had brought to my taſk, with thoſe I muſt finally perform it. To deliberate whenever I doubted, to enquire whenever I was ignorant, would have protracted the undertaking without end, and, perhaps, without much improvement; for I did not find by my firſt experiments, that what I had not of my own

was

Digitized by Google

was eaſily to be obtained: I ſaw that one enquiry only gave occaſion to another, that book referred to book, that to ſearch was not always to find, and to find was not always to be informed; and that thus to purſue perfection, was, like the firſt inhabitants of Arcadia, to chaſe the ſun, which, when they had reached the hill where he ſeemed to reſt, was ſtill beheld at the ſame diſtance from them.

I then contracted my deſign, determining to confide in myſelf, and no longer to ſolicit auxiliaries, which produced more incumbrance than aſſiſtance; by this I obtained at leaſt one advantage, that I ſet limits to my work, which would in time be ended, though not completed.

Deſpondency has never ſo far prevailed as to depreſs me to negligence; ſome faults will at laſt appear to be the effects of anxious diligence and perſevering activity. The nice and ſubtle ramifications of meaning were not eaſily avoided by a mind intent upon accuracy, and convinced of the neceſſity of diſentangling combinations, and ſeparating ſimilitudes. Many of the diſtinctions which to common readers appear uſeleſs and idle, will be found real and important by men verſed in the ſchool philoſophy, without which no dictionary can ever be accurately compiled, or ſkilfully examined.

Some ſenſes however there are, which, though not the ſame, are yet ſo nearly allied, that they are often confounded. Moſt men think indiſtinctly, and therefore cannot ſpeak with exactneſs; and conſequently ſome examples might be indifferently put to either ſignification: this uncertainty is not to be imputed to me, who do not form, but regiſter the language;

Digitized by Google

language; who do not teach men how they ſhould think, but relate how they have hitherto expreſſed their thoughts.

The imperfect ſenſe of ſome examples I lamented, but could not remedy, and hope they will be compenſated by innumerable paſſages ſelected with propriety, and preſerved with exactneſs; ſome ſhining with ſparks of imagination, and ſome replete with treaſures of wiſdom.

The orthography and etymology, though imperfect, are not imperfect for want of care, but becauſe care will not always be ſucceſsful, and recollection or information come too late for uſe.

That many terms of art and manufacture are omitted, muſt be frankly acknowledged; but for this defect I may boldly allege that it was unavoidable; I could not viſit caverns to learn the miner's language, nor take a voyage to perfect my ſkill in the dialect of navigation, nor viſit the warehouſes of merchants, and ſhops of artificers, to gain the names of wares, tools and operations, of which no mention is found in books; what favourable accident, or eaſy enquiry brought within my reach, has not been neglected; but it had been a hopeleſs labour to glean up words, by courting living information, and conteſting with the ſullenneſs of one, and the roughneſs of another.

To furniſh the academicians *della Cruſca* with words of this kind, a ſeries of comedies called *la Fiera*, or *the Fair*, was profeſſedly written by *Buonaroti*; but I had no ſuch aſſiſtant, and therefore was content to want what they muſt have wanted likewiſe, had they not luckily been ſo ſupplied.

Nor

Digitized by Google

Nor are all words which are not found in the vocabulary, to be lamented as omiſſions. Of the laborious and mercantile part of the people, the diction is in a great meaſure caſual and mutable; many of their terms are formed for ſome temporary or local convenience, and though current at certain times and places, are in others utterly unknown. This fugitive cant, which is always in a ſtate of increaſe or decay, cannot be regarded as any part of the durable materials of a language, and therefore muſt be ſuffered to periſh with other things unworthy of preſervation.

Care will ſometimes betray to the appearance of negligence. He that is catching opportunities which ſeldom occur, will ſuffer thoſe to paſs by unregarded, which he expects hourly to return; he that is ſearching for rare and remote things, will neglect thoſe that are obvious and familiar: thus many of the moſt common and curſory words have been inſerted with little illuſtration, becauſe in gathering the authorities, I forebore to copy thoſe which I thought likely to occur whenever they were wanted. It is remarkable that, in reviewing my collection, I found the word *ſea* unexemplified.

Thus it happens, that in things difficult there is danger from ignorance, and in things eaſy from confidence; the mind, afraid of greatneſs, and diſdainful of littleneſs, haſtily withdraws herſelf from painful ſearches, and paſſes with ſcornful rapidity over taſks not adequate to her powers, ſometimes too ſecure for caution, and again too anxious for vigorous effort; ſometimes idle in a plain path, and ſometimes

Digitized by Google

ſometimes diſtracted in labyrinths, and diſſipated by different intentions.

A large work is difficult becauſe it is large, even though all its parts might ſingly be performed with facility; where there are many things to be done, each muſt be allowed its ſhare of time and labour, in the proportion only which it bears to the whole; nor can it be expected, that the ſtones which form the dome of a temple, ſhould be ſquared and poliſhed like the diamond of a ring.

Of the event of this work, for which, having laboured it with ſo much application, I cannot but have ſome degree of parental fondneſs, it is natural to form conjectures. Thoſe who have been perſuaded to think well of my deſign, will require that it ſhould fix our language, and put a ſtop to thoſe alterations which time and chance have hitherto been ſuffered to make in it without oppoſition. With this conſequence I will confeſs that I flattered myſelf for a while; but now begin to fear that I have indulged expectation which neither reaſon nor experience can juſtify. When we ſee men grow old and die at a certain time one after another, from century to century, we laugh at the elixir that promiſes to prolong life to a thouſand years; and with equal juſtice may the lexicographer be derided, who being able to produce no example of a nation that has preſerved their words and phraſes from mutability, ſhall imagine that his dictionary can embalm his language, and ſecure it from corruption and decay, that it is in his power to change ſublunary nature, and clear the world at once from folly, vanity, and affectation.

With

Digitized by Google

With this hope, however, academies have been inſtituted, to guard the avenues of their languages, to retain fugitives, and repulſe intruders; but their vigilance and activity have hitherto been vain; ſounds are too volatile and ſubtile for legal reſtraints; to enchain ſyllables, and to laſh the wind, are equally the undertakings of pride, unwilling to meaſure its deſires by its ſtrength. The *French* language has viſibly changed under the inſpection of the academy; the ſtyle of *Amelot's* tranſlation of father *Paul* is obſerved by *Le Courayer* to be *un peu paſſé*; and no *Italian* will maintain, that the diction of any modern writer is not perceptibly different from that of *Boccace*, *Machiavel*, or *Caro*.

Total and ſudden transformations of a language ſeldom happen; conqueſts and migrations are now very rare: but there are other cauſes of change, which, though ſlow in their operation, and inviſible in their progreſs, are perhaps as much ſuperior to human reſiſtance, as the revolutions of the ſky, or intumeſcence of the tide. Commerce, however neceſſary, however lucrative, as it depraves the manners, corrupts the language; they that have frequent intercourſe with ſtrangers, to whom they endeavour to accommodate themſelves, muſt in time learn a mingled dialect, like the jargon which ſerves the traffickers on the *Mediterranean* and *Indian* coaſts. This will not always be confined to the exchange, the warehouſe, or the port, but will be communicated by degrees to other ranks of the people, and be at laſt incorporated with the current ſpeech.

There are likewiſe internal cauſes equally forcible. The language moſt likely to continue long without alteration,

Digitized by Google

alteration, would be that of a nation raiſed a little, and but a little, above barbarity, ſecluded from ſtrangers, and totally employed in procuring the conveniencies of life; either without books, or, like ſome of the *Mahometan* countries, with very few: men thus buſied and unlearned, having only ſuch words as common uſe requires, would perhaps long continue to expreſs the ſame notions by the ſame ſigns. But no ſuch conſtancy can be expected in a people poliſhed by arts, and claſſed by ſubordination, where one part of the community is ſuſtained and accommodated by the labour of the other. Thoſe who have much leiſure to think, will always be enlarging the ſtock of ideas; and every increaſe of knowledge, whether real or fancied, will produce new words, or combination of words. When the mind is unchained from neceſſity, it will range after convenience; when it is left at large in the fields of ſpeculation, it will ſhift opinions; as any cuſtom is diſuſed, the words that expreſſed it muſt periſh with it; as any opinion grows popular, it will innovate ſpeech in the ſame proportion as it alters practice.

As by the cultivation of various ſciences, a language is amplified, it will be more furniſhed with words deflected from their original ſenſe; the geometrician will talk of a courtier's zenith, or the eccentrick virtue of a wild hero, and the phyſician of ſanguine expectations and phlegmatic delays. Copiouſneſs of ſpeech will give opportunities to capricious choice, by which ſome words will be preferred, and others degraded; viciſſitudes of faſhion will enforce the uſe of new, or extend the ſignification of known terms. The tropes of poetry will make

Digitized by Google

make hourly encroachments, and the metaphorical will become the current ſenſe: pronunciation will be varied by levity or ignorance, and the pen muſt at length comply with the tongue; illiterate writers will, at one time or other, by publick infatuation, riſe into renown, who not knowing the original import of words, will uſe them with colloquial licentiouſneſs, confound diſtinction, and forget propriety. As politeneſs increaſes, ſome expreſſions will be conſidered as too groſs and vulgar for the delicate, others as too formal and ceremonious for the gay and airy; new phraſes are therefore adopted, which muſt, for the ſame reaſons, be in time diſmiſſed. *Swift*, in his petty treatiſe on the *Engliſh* language, allows that new words muſt ſometimes be introduced, but propoſes that none ſhould be ſuffered to become obſolete. But what makes a word obſolete, more than general agreement to forbear it? and how ſhall it be continued, when it conveys an offenſive idea or recalled again into the mouths of mankind, when it has once become unfamiliar by diſuſe, and unpleaſing by unfamiliarity?

There is another cauſe of alteration more prevalent than any other, which yet in the preſent ſtate of the world cannot be obviated. A mixture of two languages will produce a third diſtinct from both, and they will always be mixed, where the chief parts of education, and the moſt conſpicuous accompliſhment, is ſkill in ancient or in foreign tongues. He that has long cultivated another language, will find its words and combinations crowd upon his memory; and haſte and negligence, refine-

ment

Digitized by Google

ment and affectation, will obtrude borrowed terms and exotick expreſſions.

The great peſt of ſpeech is frequency of tranſlation. No book was ever turned from one language into another, without imparting ſomething of its native idiom; this is the moſt miſchievous and comprehenſive innovation; ſingle words may enter by thouſands, and the fabrick of the tongue continue the ſame; but new phraſeology changes much at once; it alters not the ſingle ſtones of the building, but the order of the columns. If an academy ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the cultivation of our ſtyle; which I, who can never wiſh to ſee dependence multiplied, hope the ſpirit of *Engliſh* liberty will hinder or deſtroy, let them, inſtead of compiling grammars and dictionaries, endeavour, with all their influence, to ſtop the licence of tranſlators, whoſe idleneſs and ignorance, if it be ſuffered to proceed, will reduce us to babble a dialect of *France*.

If the changes that we fear be thus irreſiſtible, what remains but to acquieſce with ſilence, as in the other inſurmountable diſtreſſes of humanity? It remains that we retard what we cannot repel, that we palliate what we cannot cure. Life may be lengthened by care, though death cannot be ultimately defeated: tongues, like governments, have a natural tendency to degeneration; we have long preſerved our conſtitution, let us make ſome ſtruggles for our language.

In hope of giving longevity to that which its own nature forbids to be immortal, I have devoted this book, the labour of years, to the honour of my country,

Digitized by Google

country, that we may no longer yield the palm of philology, without a conteſt, to the nations of the continent. The chief glory of every people ariſes from its authors: whether I ſhall add any thing by my own writings to the reputation of *Engliſh* literature, muſt be left to time: much of my life has been loſt under the preſſures of diſeaſe; much has been trifled away; and much has always been ſpent in proviſion for the day that was paſſing over me; but I ſhall not think my employment uſeleſs or ignoble, if by my aſſiſtance foreign nations, and diſtant ages, gain acceſs to the propagators of knowledge, and underſtand the teachers of truth; if my labours afford light to the repoſitories of ſcience, and add celebrity to *Bacon*, to *Hooker*, to *Milton*, and to *Boyle*.

When I am animated by this wiſh, I look with pleaſure on my book, however defective, and deliver it to the world with the ſpirit of a man that has endeavoured well. That it will immediately become popular I have not promiſed to myſelf: a few wild blunders, and riſible abſurdities, from which no work of ſuch multiplicity was ever free, may for a time furniſh folly with laughter, and harden ignorance into contempt; but uſeful diligence will at laſt prevail, and there never can be wanting ſome who diſtinguiſh deſert; who will conſider that no dictionary of a living tongue ever can be perfect, ſince, while it is haſtening to publication, ſome words are budding, and ſome falling away; that a whole life cannot be ſpent upon ſyntax and etymology, and that even a whole life would not be ſufficient; that he, whoſe deſign includes whatever language can expreſs, muſt often ſpeak of what he does not underſtand;

Digitized by Google

derſtand; that a writer will ſometimes be hurried by eagerneſs to the end, and ſometimes faint with wearineſs under a taſk, which *Scaliger* compares to the labours of the anvil and the mine; that what is obvious is not always known, and what is known is not always preſent; that ſudden fits of inadvertency will ſurpriſe vigilance, ſlight avocations will ſeduce attention, and caſual eclipſes of the mind will darken learning; and that the writer ſhall often in vain trace his memory at the moment of need, for that which yeſterday he knew with intuitive readineſs, and which will come uncalled into his thoughts tomorrow.

In this work, when it ſhall be found that much is omitted, let it not be forgotten that much likewiſe is performed; and though no book was ever ſpared out of tenderneſs to the author, and the world is little ſolicitous to know whence proceed the faults of that which it condemns; yet it may gratify curioſity to inform it, that the *Engliſh Dictionary* was written with little aſſiſtance of the learned, and without any patronage of the great; not in the ſoft obſcurities of retirement, or under the ſhelter of academick bowers, but amidſt inconvenience and diſtraction, in ſickneſs and in ſorrow. It may repreſs the triumph of malignant criticiſm to obſerve, that if our language is not here fully diſplayed, I have only failed in an attempt which no human powers have hitherto completed. If the lexicons of ancient tongues, now immutably fixed, and comprized in a few volumes, be yet, after the toil of ſucceſſive ages, inadequate and deluſive; if the aggregated knowledge, and co-operating diligence of the *Italian* academicians,

Digitized by Google

demicians, did not ſecure them from the cenſure of *Beni*; if the embodied criticks of *France*, when fifty years had been ſpent upon their work, were obliged to change its œconomy, and give their ſecond edition another form, I may ſurely be contented without the praiſe of perfection, which, if I could obtain, in this gloom of ſolitude, what would it avail me? I have protracted my work till moſt of thoſe whom I wiſhed to pleaſe have ſunk into the grave, and ſucceſs and miſcarriage are empty ſounds: I therefore diſmiſs it with frigid tranquillity, having little to fear or hope from cenſure or from praiſe.

Digitized by Google

PROPOSALS

FOR PRINTING THE

DRAMATICK WORKS

OF

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Printed in the Year 1756.

WHEN the works of *Shakeſpeare* are, after ſo many editions, again offered to the Publick, it will doubtleſs be inquired, why *Shakeſpeare* ſtands in more need of critical aſſiſtance than any other of the *Engliſh* writers, and what are the deficiencies of the late attempts, which another editor may hope to ſupply?

The buſineſs of him that republiſhes an ancient book is, to correct what is corrupt, and to explain what is obſcure. To have a text corrupt in many places, and in many doubtful, is, among the authors that have written ſince the uſe of types, almoſt peculiar to *Shakeſpeare*. Moſt writers, by publiſhing their own works, prevent all various readings, and preclude all conjectural criticiſm. Books indeed are ſometimes publiſhed after the death of him who produced them; but they are better ſecured from corruption than theſe unfortunate compoſitions.

Digitized by Google

ſitions. They ſubſiſt in a ſingle copy, written or reviſed by the author; and the faults of the printed volume can be only faults of one deſcent.

But of the works of *Shakeſpeare* the condition has been far different: he ſold them, not to be printed, but to be played. They were immediately copied for the actors, and multiplied by tranſcript after tranſcript, vitiated by the blunders of the penman, or changed by the affectation of the player; perhaps enlarged to introduce a jeſt, or mutilated to ſhorten the repreſentation; and printed at laſt without the concurrence of the author, without the conſent of the proprietor, from compilations made by chance or by ſtealth out of the ſeparate parts written for the theatre; and thus thruſt into the world ſurreptitiouſly and haſtily, they ſuffered another depravation from the ignorance and negligence of the printers, as every man who knows the ſtate of the preſs in that age will readily conceive.

It is not eaſy for invention to bring together ſo many cauſes concurring to vitiate the text. No other author ever gave up his works to fortune and time with ſo little care: no books could be left in hands ſo likely to injure them, as plays frequently acted, yet continued in manuſcript: no other tranſcribers were likely to be ſo little qualified for their taſk as thoſe who copied for the ſtage, at a time when the lower ranks of the people were univerſally illiterate: no other editions were made from fragments ſo minutely broken, and ſo fortuitouſly reunited; and in no other age was the art of printing in ſuch unſkilful hands.

Digitized by Google

With the cauſes of corruption that make the reviſal of *Shakeſpeare*'s dramatick pieces neceſſary, may be enumerated the cauſes of obſcurity, which may be partly imputed to his age, and partly to himſelf.

When a writer outlives his contemporaries, and remains almoſt the only unforgotten name of a diſtant time, he is neceſſarily obſcure. Every age has its modes of ſpeech, and its caſt of thought; which, though eaſily explained when there are many books to be compared with each other, become ſometimes unintelligible and always difficult, when there are no parallel paſſages that may conduce to their illuſtration. *Shakeſpeare* is the firſt conſiderable author of ſublime or familiar dialogue in our language. Of the books which he read, and from which he formed his ſtyle, ſome perhaps have periſhed, and the reſt are neglected. His imitations are therefore unnoted, his alluſions are undiſcovered, and many beauties, both of pleaſantry and greatneſs, are loſt with the objects to which they were united, as the figures vaniſh when the canvas has decayed.

It is the great excellence of *Shakeſpeare*, that he drew his ſcenes from nature, and from life. He copied the manners of the world then paſſing before him, and has more alluſions than other poets to the traditions and ſuperſtition of the vulgar; which muſt therefore be traced before he can be underſtood.

He wrote at a time when our poetical language was yet unformed, when the meaning of our phraſes was yet in fluctuation, when words were adopted at

Digitized by Google

pleaſure from the neighbouring languages, and while the *Saxon* was ſtill viſibly mingled in our diction. The reader is therefore embarraſſed at once with dead and with foreign languages, with obſoleteneſs and innovation. In that age, as in all others, faſhion produced phraſeology, which ſucceeding faſhion ſwept away before its meaning was generally known, or ſufficiently authoriſed: and in that age, above all others, experiments were made upon our language, which diſtorted its combinations, and diſturbed its uniformity.

If *Shakeſpeare* has difficulties above other writers, it is to be imputed to the nature of his work, which required the uſe of the common colloquial language, and conſequently admitted many phraſes alluſive, elliptical, and proverbial, ſuch as we ſpeak and hear every hour without obſerving them; and of which, being now familiar, we do not ſuſpect that they can ever grow uncouth, or that, being now obvious, they can ever ſeem remote.

Theſe are the principal cauſes of the obſcurity of *Shakeſpeare*; to which might be added the fulneſs of idea, which might ſometimes load his words with more ſentiment than they could conveniently convey, and that rapidity of imagination which might hurry him to a ſecond thought before he had fully explained the firſt. But my opinion is, that very few of his lines were difficult to his audience, and that he uſed ſuch expreſſions as were then common, though the paucity of contemporary writers makes them now ſeem peculiar.

Authors are often praiſed for improvement, or blamed for innovation, with very little juſtice, by

Digitized by Google

thoſe who read few other books of the ſame age. *Addiſon* himſelf has been ſo unſucceſsful in enumerating the words with which *Milton* has enriched our language, as perhaps not to have named one of which *Milton* was the author; and *Bentley* has yet more unhappily praiſed him as the introducer of thoſe eliſions into *Engliſh* poetry, which had been uſed from the firſt eſſays of verſification among us, and which *Milton* was indeed the laſt that practiſed.

Another impediment, not the leaſt vexatious to the commentator, is the exactneſs with which *Shakeſpeare* followed his authors. Inſtead of dilating his thoughts into generalities, and expreſſing incidents with poetical latitude, he often combines circumſtances unneceſſary to his main deſign, only becauſe he happened to find them together. Such paſſages can be illuſtrated only by him who has read the ſame ſtory in the very book which *Shakeſpeare* conſulted.

He that undertakes an edition of *Shakeſpeare*, has all theſe difficulties to encounter, and all theſe obſtructions to remove.

The corruptions of the text will be corrected by a careful collation of the oldeſt copies, by which it is hoped that many reſtorations may yet be made: at leaſt it will be neceſſary to collect and note the variation as materials for future criticks; for it very often happens that a wrong reading has affinity to the right.

In this part all the preſent editions are apparently and intentionally defective. The criticks did not ſo much as wiſh to facilitate the labour of thoſe that followed them. The ſame books are ſtill to be compared;

Digitized by Google

compared; the work that has been done, is to be done again; and no ſingle edition will ſupply the reader with a text on which he can rely as the beſt copy of the works of *Shakeſpeare*.

The edition now propoſed will at leaſt have this advantage over others. It will exhibit all the obſervable varieties of all the copies that can be found; that, if the reader is not ſatisfied with the editor's determination, he may have the means of chooſing better for himſelf.

Where all the books are evidently vitiated, and collation can give no aſſiſtance, then begins the taſk of critical ſagacity: and ſome changes may well be admitted in a text never ſettled by the author, and ſo long expoſed to caprice and ignorance. But nothing ſhall be impoſed, as in the *Oxford* edition, without notice of the alteration; nor ſhall conjecture be wantonly or unneceſſarily indulged.

It has been long found, that very ſpecious emendations do not equally ſtrike all minds with conviction, nor even the ſame mind at different times; and therefore, though perhaps many alterations may be propoſed as eligible, very few will be obtruded as certain. In a language ſo ungrammatical as the *Engliſh*, and ſo licentious as that of *Shakeſpeare*, emendatory criticiſm is always hazardous; nor can it be allowed to any man who is not particularly verſed in the writings of that age, and particularly ſtudious of his author's diction. There is danger leſt peculiarities ſhould be miſtaken for corruptions, and paſſages rejected as unintelligible, which a narrow mind happens not to underſtand.

All

Digitized by Google

All the former criticks have been ſo much employed on the correction of the text, that they have not ſufficiently attended to the elucidation of paſſages obſcured by accident or time. The editor will endeavour to read the books which the author read, to trace his knowledge to its ſource, and compare his copies with their originals. If in this part of his deſign he hopes to attain any degree of ſuperiority to his predeceſſors, it muſt be conſidered, that he has the advantage of their labours; that part of the work being already done, more care is naturally beſtowed on the other part; and that, to declare the truth, Mr. *Rowe* and Mr. *Pope* were very ignorant of the ancient *Engliſh* literature; Dr. *Warburton* was detained by more important ſtudies; and Mr. *Theobald*, if fame be juſt to his memory, conſidered learning only as an inſtrument of gain, and made no further enquiry after his author's meaning, when once he had notes ſufficient to embelliſh his page with the expected decorations.

With regard to obſolete or peculiar diction, the editor may perhaps claim ſome degree of confidence, having had more motives to conſider the whole extent of our language than any other man from its firſt formation. He hopes that, by comparing the works of *Shakeſpeare* with thoſe of writers who lived at the ſame time, immediately preceded, or immediately followed him, he ſhall be able to aſcertain his ambiguities, diſentangle his intricacies, and recover the meaning of words now loſt in the darkneſs of antiquity.

When therefore any obſcurity ariſes from an alluſion to ſome other book, the paſſage will be quoted,

Digitized by Google

ed. When the diction is entangled, it will be cleared by a paraphraſe or interpretation. When the ſenſe is broken by the ſuppreſſion of part of the ſentiment in pleaſantry or paſſion, the connexion will be ſupplied. When any forgotten cuſtom is hinted, care will be taken to retrieve and explain it. The meaning aſſigned to doubtful words will be ſupported by the authorities of other writers, or by parallel paſſages of *Shakeſpeare* himſelf.

The obſervation of faults and beauties is one of the duties of an annotator, which ſome of *Shakeſpeare*'s editors have attempted, and ſome have neglected. For this part of his taſk, and for this only, was Mr. *Pope* eminently and indiſputably qualified; nor has Dr. *Warburton* followed him with leſs diligence or leſs ſucceſs. But I have never obſerved that mankind was much delighted or improved by their aſteriſks, commas, or double commas; of which the only effect is, that they preclude the pleaſure of judging for ourſelves, teach the young and ignorant to decide without principles; defeat curioſity and diſcernment, by leaving them leſs to diſcover; and at laſt ſhew the opinion of the critick, without the reaſons on which it was founded, and without affording any light by which it may be examined.

The editor, though he may leſs delight his own vanity will probably pleaſe his reader more, by ſuppoſing him equally able with himſelf to judge of beauties and faults, which require no previous acquiſition of remote knowledge. A deſcription of the obvious ſcenes of nature, a repreſentation of general life, a ſentiment of reflection or experience, a deduc-

Digitized by Google

a deduction of concluſive arguments, a forcible eruption of efferveſcent paſſion, are to be conſidered as proportionate to common apprehenſion, unaſſiſted by critical officiouſneſs; ſince, to convince them, nothing more is requiſite than acquaintance with the general ſtate of the world, and thoſe faculties which he muſt almoſt bring with him who would read *Shakeſpeare*.

But when the beauty ariſes from ſome adaptation of the ſentiment to cuſtoms worn out of uſe, to opinions not univerſally prevalent, or to any accidental or minute particularity, which cannot be ſupplied by common underſtanding, or common obſervation, it is the duty of a commentator to lend his aſſiſtance.

The notice of beauties and faults thus limited, will make no diſtinct part of the deſign, being reducible to the explanation of obſcure paſſages.

The editor does not however intend to preclude himſelf from the compariſon of *Shakeſpeare*'s ſentiments or expreſſion with thoſe of ancient or modern authors, or from the diſplay of any beauty not obvious to the ſtudents of poetry; for as he hopes to leave his author better underſtood, he wiſhes likewiſe to procure him more rational approbation.

The former editors have affected to ſlight their predeceſſors: but in this edition all that is valuable will be adopted from every commentator, that poſterity may conſider it as including all the reſt, and exhibiting whatever is hitherto known of the great father of the *Engliſh* drama.

Digitized by Google

PREFACE

TO

SHAKESPEARE.

Publiſhed in the Year 1768.

THAT praiſes are without reaſon laviſhed on the dead, and that the honours due only to excellence are paid to antiquity, is a complaint likely to be always continued by thoſe, who, being able to add nothing to truth, hope for eminence from the hereſies of paradox; or thoſe, who, being forced by diſappointment upon conſolatory expedients, are willing to hope from poſterity what the preſent age refuſes, and flatter themſelves that the regard, which is yet denied by envy, will be at laſt beſtowed by time.

Antiquity, like every other quality that attracts the notice of mankind, has undoubtedly votaries that reverence it, not from reaſon, but from prejudice. Some ſeem to admire indiſcriminately whatever has been long preſerved, without conſidering that time has ſometimes co-operated with chance; all perhaps are more willing to honour paſt

Digitized by Google

paſt than preſent excellence; and the mind contemplates genius through the ſhades of age, as the eye ſurveys the ſun through artificial opacity. The great contention of criticiſm is to find the faults of the moderns, and the beauties of the ancients. While an author is yet living we eſtimate his powers by his worſt performance, and when he is dead, we rate them by his beſt.

To works, however, of which the excellence is not abſolute and definite, but gradual and comparative; to works not raiſed upon principles demonſtrative and ſcientifick, but appealing wholly to obſervation and experience, no other teſt can be applied than length of duration and continuance of eſteem. What mankind have long poſſeſſed they have often examined and compared; and if they perſiſt to value the poſſeſſion, it is becauſe frequent compariſons have confirmed opinion in its favour. As among the works of nature no man can properly call a river deep, or a mountain high, without the knowledge of many mountains, and many rivers; ſo, in the productions of genius, nothing can be ſtyled excellent till it has been compared with other works of the ſame kind. Demonſtration immediately diſplays its power, and has nothing to hope or fear from the flux of years; but works tentative and experimental muſt be eſtimated by their proportion to the general and collective ability of man, as it is diſcovered in a long ſucceſſion of endeavours. Of the firſt building that was raiſed, it might be with certainty determined that it was round or ſquare; but whether it was ſpacious or lofty muſt have been referred to time. The *Pythagorean* ſcale of numbers was

Digitized by Google

was at once diſcovered to be perfect; but the poems of *Homer* we yet know not to tranſcend the common limits of human intelligence, but by remarking, that nation after nation, and century after century, has been able to do little more than tranſpoſe his incidents, new-name his characters, and paraphraſe his ſentiments.

The reverence due to writings that have long ſubſiſted ariſes therefore not from any credulous confidence in the ſuperior wiſdom of paſt ages, or gloomy perſuaſion of the degeneracy of mankind, but is the conſequence of acknowledged and indubitable poſitions, that what has been longeſt known has been moſt conſidered, and what is moſt conſidered is beſt underſtood.

The poet, of whoſe works I have undertaken the reviſion, may now begin to aſſume the dignity of an ancient, and claim the privilege of eſtabliſhed fame and preſcriptive veneration. He has long outlived his century, the term commonly fixed as the teſt of literary merit. Whatever advantages he might once derive from perſonal alluſions, local cuſtoms, or temporary opinions, have for many years been loſt; and every topick of merriment, or motive of ſorrow, which the modes of artificial life afforded him, now only obſcure the ſcenes which they once illuminated. The effects of favour and competition are at an end; the tradition of his friendſhips and his enmities has periſhed; his works ſuppoſt no opinion with arguments, nor ſupply any faction with invectives; they can neither indulge vanity, nor gratify malignity; but are read without any other reaſon than the deſire of pleaſure, and are therefore praiſed only as

pleaſure

Digitized by Google

pleaſure is obtained; yet, thus unaſſiſted by intereſt or paſſion, they have paſt through variations of taſte and changes of manners, and, as they devolved from one generation to another, have received new honours at every tranſmiſſion.

But becauſe human judgment, though it be gradually gaining upon certainty, never becomes infallible; and approbation, though long continued, may yet be only the approbation of prejudice or faſhion; it is proper to inquire, by what peculiarities of excellence *Shakeſpeare* has gained and kept the favour of his countrymen.

Nothing can pleaſe many, and pleaſe long, but juſt repreſentations of general nature. Particular manners can be known to few, and therefore few only can judge how nearly they are copied. The irregular combinations of fanciful invention may delight awhile, by that novelty of which the common ſatiety of life ſends us all in queſt; but the pleaſures of ſudden wonder are ſoon exhauſted, and the mind can only repoſe on the ſtability of truth.

Shakeſpeare is, above all writers, at leaſt above all modern writers, the poet of nature; the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the cuſtoms of particular places, unpractiſed by the reſt of the world; by the peculiarities of ſtudies or profeſſions, which can operate but upon ſmall numbers; or by the accidents of tranſient faſhions or temporary opinions: they are the genuine progeny of common humanity, ſuch as the world will always ſupply, and obſervation will always find. His perſons act and ſpeak by the influence of thoſe general paſſions and principles

Digitized by Google

principles by which all minds are agitated, and the whole ſyſtem of life is continued in motion. In the writings of other poets a character is too often an individual: in thoſe of *Shakeſpeare* it is commonly a ſpecies.

It is from this wide extenſion of deſign that ſo much inſtruction is derived. It is this which fills the plays of *Shakeſpeare* with practical axioms and domeſtic wiſdom. It was ſaid of *Euripides*, that every verſe was a precept; and it may be ſaid of *Shakeſpeare*, that from his works may be collected a ſyſtem of civil and œconomical prudence. Yet his real power is not ſhewn in the ſplendor of particular paſſages, but by the progreſs of his fable, and the tenor of his dialogue: and he that tries to recommend him by ſelect quotations, will ſucceed like the pedant in *Hierocles*, who, when he offered his houſe to ſale, carried a brick in his pocket as a ſpecimen.

It will not eaſily be imagined how much *Shakeſpeare* excels in accommodating his ſentiments to real life, but by comparing him with other authors. It was obſerved of the ancient ſchools of declamation, that the more diligently they were frequented, the more was the ſtudent diſqualified for the world, becauſe he found nothing there which he ſhould ever meet in any other place. The ſame remark may be applied to every ſtage but that of *Shakeſpeare*. The theatre, when it is under any other direction, is peopled by ſuch characters as were never ſeen, converſing in a language which was never heard, upon topicks which will never ariſe in the commerce of mankind. But the dialogue of this author is often ſo evidently determined by the incident which

Digitized by Google

produces it, and is purſued with ſo much eaſe and ſimplicity, that it ſeems ſcarcely to claim the merit of fiction, but to have been gleaned by diligent ſelection out of common converſation, and common occurrences.

Upon every other ſtage the univerſal agent is love, by whoſe power all good and evil is diſtributed, and every action quickened or retarded. To bring a lover, a lady, and a rival into the fable; to entangle them in contradictory obligations, perplex them with oppoſitions of intereſt, and haraſs them with violence of deſires inconſiſtent with each other; to make them meet in rapture, and part in agony; to fill their mouths with hyperbolical joy and outrageous ſorrow; to diſtreſs them as nothing human ever was diſtreſſed; to deliver them as nothing human ever was delivered; is the buſineſs of a modern dramatiſt. For this, probability is violated, life is miſrepreſented, and language is depraved. But love is only one of many paſſions; and as it has no great influence upon the ſum of life, it has little operation in the dramas of a poet, who caught his ideas from the living world, and exhibited only what he ſaw before him. He knew that any other paſſion, as it was regular or exorbitant, was a cauſe of happineſs or calamity.

Characters thus ample and general were not eaſily diſcriminated and preſerved, yet perhaps no poet ever kept his perſonages more diſtinct from each other. I will not ſay with *Pope*, that every ſpeech may be aſſigned to the proper ſpeaker, becauſe many ſpeeches there are which have nothing characteriſtical; but, perhaps, though ſome may be equally adapted to every

Digitized by Google

every perſon, it will be difficult to find that any can be properly transferred from the preſent poſſeſſor to another claimant. The choice is right, when there is reaſon for choice.

Other dramatiſts can only gain attention by hyperbolical or aggravated characters, by fabulous and unexampled excellence or depravity, as the writers of barbarous romances invigorated the reader by a giant and a dwarf; and he that ſhould form his expectations of human affairs from the play, or from the tale, would be equally deceived. *Shakeſpeare* has no heroes; his ſcenes are occupied only by men, who act and ſpeak as the reader thinks that he ſhould himſelf have ſpoken or acted on the ſame occaſion: even where the agency is ſupernatural, the dialogue is level with life. Other writers diſguiſe the moſt natural paſſions and moſt frequent incidents; ſo that he who contemplates them in the book will not know them in the world: *Shakeſpeare* approximates the remote, and familiarizes the wonderful; the event which he repreſents will not happen, but, if it were poſſible, its effects would probably be ſuch as he has aſſigned; and it may be ſaid, that he has not only ſhewn human nature as it acts in real exigencies, but as it would be found in trials, to which it cannot be expoſed.

This therefore is the praiſe of *Shakeſpeare*, that his drama is the mirror of life; that he who has mazed his imagination, in following the phantoms which other writers raiſe up before him, may here be cured of his delirious ecſtacies, by reading human ſentiments in human language, by ſcenes from which a hermit may eſtimate the tranſactions of the

Digitized by Google

world, and a confeſſor predict the progreſs of the paſſions.

His adherence to general nature has expoſed him to the cenſure of criticks, who form their judgments upon narrower principles. *Dennis* and *Rymer* think his *Romans* not ſufficiently *Roman*; and *Voltaire* cenſures his kings as not completely royal. *Dennis* is offended, that *Menenius*, a ſenator of *Rome*, ſhould play the buffoon; and *Voltaire* perhaps thinks decency violated when the *Daniſh* uſurper is repreſented as a drunkard. But *Shakeſpeare* always makes nature predominate over accident; and, if he preſerves the eſſential character, is not very careful of diſtinctions ſuperinduced and adventitious. His ſtory requires *Romans* or kings, but he thinks only on men. He knew that *Rome*, like every other city, had men of all diſpoſitions; and wanting a buffoon, he went into the ſenate-houſe for that which the ſenate-houſe would certainly have afforded him. He was inclined to ſhew an uſurper and a murderer not only odious, but deſpicable; he therefore added drunkenneſs to his other qualities, knowing that kings love wine like other men, and that wine exerts its natural power upon kings. Theſe are the petty cavils of petty minds; a poet overlooks the caſual diſtinction of country and condition, as a painter, ſatisfied with the figure, neglects the drapery.

The cenſure which he has incurred by mixing comick and tragick ſcenes, as it extends to all his works, deſerves more conſideration. Let the fact be firſt ſtated, and then examined.

Shakeſpeare's plays are not in the rigorous and critical ſenſe either tragedies or comedies, but compoſitions

Digitized by Google

ſitions of a diſtinct kind; exhibiting the real ſtate of ſublunary nature, which partakes of good and evil, joy and ſorrow, mingled with endleſs variety of proportion and innumerable modes of combination; and expreſſing the courſe of the world, in which the loſs of one is the gain of another; in which, at the ſame time, the reveller is haſting to his wine, and the mourner burying his friend; in which the malignity of one is ſometimes defeated by the frolick of another; and many miſchiefs and many benefits are done and hindered without deſign.

Out of this chaos of mingled purpoſes and caſualties the ancient poets, according to the laws which cuſtom had preſcribed, ſelected ſome the crimes of men, and ſome their abſurdities; ſome the momentous viciſſitudes of life, and ſome the lighter occurrences; ſome the terrors of diſtreſs, and ſome the gaieties of proſperity. Thus roſe the two modes of imitation, known by the names of *tragedy* and *comedy*, compoſitions intended to promote different ends by contrary means, and conſidered as ſo little allied, that I do not recollect among the *Greeks* or *Romans* a ſingle writer who attempted both.

Shakeſpeare has united the powers of exciting laughter and ſorrow not only in one mind, but in one compoſition. Almoſt all his plays are divided between ſerious and ludicrous characters, and, in the ſucceſſive evolutions of the deſign, ſometimes produce ſerioufneſs and ſorrow, and ſometimes levity and laughter.

That this is a practice contrary to the rules of criticiſm will be readily allowed; but there is always

Digitized by Google

an appeal open from criticiſm to nature. The end of writing is to inſtruct; the end of poetry is to inſtruct by pleaſing. That the mingled drama may convey all the inſtruction of tragedy or comedy cannot be denied, becauſe it includes both in its alternations of exhibition, and approaches nearer than either to the appearance of life, by ſhewing how great machinations and ſlender deſigns may promote or obviate one another, and the high and the low cooperate in the general ſyſtem by unavoidable concatenation.

It is objected, that by this change of ſcenes the paſſions are interrupted in their progreſſion, and that the principal event, being not advanced by a due gradation of preparatory incidents, wants at laſt the power to move, which conſtitutes the perfection of dramatick poetry. This reaſoning is ſo ſpecious, that it is received as true even by thoſe who in daily experience feel it to be falſe. The interchanges of mingled ſcenes ſeldom fail to produce the intended viciſſitudes of paſſion. Fiction cannot move ſo much, but that the attention may be eaſily transferred; and though it muſt be allowed that pleaſing melancholy be ſometimes interrupted by unwelcome levity, yet let it be conſidered likewiſe, that melancholy is often not pleaſing, and that the diſturbance of one man may be the relief of another; that different auditors have different habitudes; and that, upon the whole, all pleaſure conſiſts in variety.

The players, who in their edition divided our author's works into comedies, hiſtories, and tragedies, ſeem not to have diſtinguiſhed the three kinds by any very exact or definite ideas.

An

Digitized by Google

An action which ended happily to the principal perſons, however ſerious or diſtreſsful through its intermediate incidents, in their opinion, conſtituted a comedy. This idea of a comedy continued long amongſt us; and plays were written, which, by changing the cataſtrophe, were tragedies to-day, and comedies to-morrow.

Tragedy was not in thoſe times a poem of more general dignity or elevation than comedy; it required only a calamitous concluſion, with which the common criticiſm of that age was ſatisfied, whatever lighter pleaſure it afforded in its progreſs.

Hiſtory was a ſeries of actions, with no other than chronological ſucceſſion, independent on each other, and without any tendency to introduce or regulate the concluſion. It is not always very nicely diſtinguiſhed from tragedy. There is not much nearer approach to unity of action in the tragedy of *Anthony and Cleopatra*, than in the hiſtory of *Richard the Second*. But a hiſtory might be continued through many plays; as it had no plan it had no limits.

Through all theſe denominations of the drama, *Shakeſpeare*'s mode of compoſition is the ſame; an interchange of ſerioufneſs and merriment, by which the mind is ſoftened at one time, and exhilarated at another. But whatever be his purpoſe, whether to gladden or depreſs, or to conduct the ſtory, without vehemence or emotion, through tracts of eaſy and familiar dialogue, he never fails to attain his purpoſe; as he commands us we laugh or mourn, or ſit ſilent with quiet expectation, in tranquillity without indifference.

Digitized by Google

When *Shakeſpeare*'s plan is underſtood, moſt of the criticiſms of *Rymer* and *Voltaire* vaniſh away. The play of *Hamlet* is opened, without impropriety, by two centinels; *Iago* bellows at *Brabantio*'s window, without injury to the ſcheme of the play, though in terms which a modern audience would not eaſily endure; the character of *Polonius* is ſeaſonable and uſeful; and the grave-diggers themſelves may be heard with applauſe.

Shakeſpeare engaged in dramatic poetry with the world open before him; the rules of the ancients were yet known to few; the publick judgment was unformed; he had no example of ſuch fame as might force him upon imitation, nor criticks of ſuch authority as might reſtrain his extravagance: he therefore indulged his natural diſpoſition; and his diſpotion, as *Rymer* has remarked, led him to comedy. In tragedy he often writes, with great appearance of toil and ſtudy, what is written at laſt with little felicity; but, in his comick ſcenes, he ſeems to produce, without labour, what no labour can improve. In tragedy he is always ſtruggling after ſome occaſion to be comick; but in comedy he ſeems to repoſe, or to luxuriate, as in a mode of thinking congenial to his nature. In his tragick ſcenes there is always ſomething wanting, but his comedy often ſurpaſſes expectation or deſire. His comedy pleaſes by the thoughts and the lauguage, and his tragedy for the greater part by incident and action. His tragedy ſeems to be ſkill, his comedy to be inſtinct.

The force of his comick ſcenes has ſuffered little diminution from the changes made by a century and a half, in manners or in words. As his perſonages act

Digitized by Google

act upon principles arising from genuine passion, very little modified by particular forms, their pleasures and vexations are communicable to all times and to all places; they are natural, and therefore durable: the adventitious peculiarities of personal habits are only superficial dyes, bright and pleasing for a little while, yet soon fading to a dim tinct, without any remains of former lustre; but the discriminations of true passion are the colours of nature: they pervade the whole mass, and can only perish with the body that exhibits them. The accidental compositions of heterogeneous modes are dissolved by the chance which combined them; but the uniform simplicity of primitive qualities neither admits increase, nor suffers decay. The sand heaped by one flood is scattered by another, but the rock always continues in its place. The stream of time, which is continually washing the dissoluble fabricks of other poets, passes without injury by the adamant of *Shakespeare*.

If there be, what I believe there is, in every nation, a style which never becomes obsolete, a certain mode of phraseology so consonant and congenial to the analogy and principles of its respective language, as to remain settled and unaltered; this style is probably to be sought in the common intercourse of life, among those who speak only to be understood, without ambition of elegance. The polite are always catching modish innovations, and the learned depart from established forms of speech, in hope of finding or making better; those who wish for distinction forsake the vulgar, when the vulgar is right; but there is a conversation above grossness, and below refine-

Digitized by Google

refinement, where propriety reſides, and where this poet ſeems to have gathered his comick dialogue. He is therefore more agreeable to the ears of the preſent age than any other author equally remote, and among his other excellencies deſerves to be ſtudied as one of the original maſters of our language.

Theſe obſervations are to be conſidered not as unexceptionably conſtant, but as containing general and predominant truth. *Shakeſpeare*'s familiar dialogue is affirmed to be ſmooth and clear, yet not wholly without ruggedneſs or difficulty; as a country may be eminently fruitful, though it has ſpots unfit for cultivation: his characters are praiſed as natural, though their ſentiments are ſometimes forced, and their actions improbable; as the earth upon the whole is ſpherical, though its ſurface is varied with protuberances and cavities.

Shakeſpeare with his excellencies has likewiſe faults, and faults ſufficient to obſcure and overwhelm any other merit. I ſhall ſhew them in the proportion in which they appear to me, without envious malignity or ſuperſtitious veneration. No queſtion can be more innocently diſcuſſed than a dead poet's pretenſions to renown; and little regard is due to that bigotry which ſets candour higher than truth.

His firſt defect is that to which may be imputed moſt of the evil in books or in men. He ſacrifices virtue to convenience, and is ſo much more careful to pleaſe than to inſtruct, that he ſeems to write without any moral purpoſe. From his writings indeed a ſyſtem of ſocial duty may be ſelected, for he that thinks reaſonably muſt think morally; but his precepts

Digitized by Google

precepts and axioms drop caſually from him; he makes no juſt diſtribution of good or evil, nor is always careful to ſhew in the virtuous a diſapprobation of the wicked; he carries his perſons indifferently through right and wrong, and at the cloſe diſmiſſes them without further care, and leaves their examples to operate by chance. This fault the barbarity of his age cannot extenuate; for it is always a writer's duty to make the world better, and juſtice is a virtue independent on time or place.

The plots are often ſo looſely formed, that a very ſlight conſideration may improve them, and ſo careleſsly purſued, that he ſeems not always fully to comprehend his own deſign. He omits opportunities of inſtructing or delighting, which the train of his ſtory ſeems to force upon him, and apparently rejects thoſe exhibitions which would be more affecting, for the ſake of thoſe which are more eaſy.

It may be obſerved, that in many of his plays the latter part is evidently neglected. When he found himſelf near the end of his work, and in view of his reward, he ſhortened the labour to ſnatch the profit. He therefore remits his efforts where he ſhould moſt vigorouſly exert them, and his cataſtrophe is improbably produced or imperfectly repreſented.

He had no regard to diſtinction of time or place, but gives to one age or nation, without ſcruple, the cuſtoms, inſtitutions, and opinions of another, at the expence not only of likelihood, but of poſſibility. Theſe faults *Pope* has endeavoured, with more zeal than judgment, to transfer to his imagined interpolators. We need not wonder to find *Hector* quoting *Ariſtotle*, when we ſee the loves of *Theſeus* and

Digitized by Google

and *Hippolyta* combined with the gothick mythology of fairies. *Shakeſpeare*, indeed, was not the only violator of chronology, for in the ſame age *Sidney*, who wanted not the advantages of learning, has, in his *Arcadia*, confounded the paſtoral with the feudal times, the days of innocence, quiet, and ſecurity, with thoſe of turbulence, violence, and adventure.

In his comick ſcenes he is ſeldom very ſucceſsful, when he engages his characters in reciprocations of ſmartneſs and conteſts of ſarcaſm; their jeſts are commonly groſs, and their pleaſantry licentious; neither his gentlemen nor his ladies have much delicacy, nor are ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed from his clowns by any appearance of refined manners. Whether he repreſented the real converſation of his time is not eaſy to determine: the reign of *Elizabeth* is commonly ſuppoſed to have been a time of ſtatelineſs, formality, and reſerve; yet perhaps the relaxations of that ſeverity were not very elegant. There muſt, however, have been always ſome modes of gaiety preferable to others, and a writer ought to chuſe the beſt.

In tragedy his performance ſeems conſtantly to be worſe, as his labour is more. The effuſions of paſſion, which exigence forces out, are for the moſt part ſtriking and energetick; but whenever he ſolicits his invention, or ſtrains his faculties, the offspring of his throes is tumor, meanneſs, tediouſneſs, and obſcurity.

In narration he affects a diſproportionate pomp of diction, and a weariſome train of circumlocution, and tells the incident imperfectly in many words, which

Digitized by Google

which might have been more plainly delivered in few. Narration in dramatick poetry is naturally tedious, as it is unanimated and inactive, and obſtructs the progreſs of the action; it ſhould therefore always be rapid, and enlivened by frequent interruption. *Shakeſpeare* found it an incumbrance, and inſtead of lightening it by brevity, endeavoured to recommend it by dignity and ſplendor.

His declamations or ſet ſpeeches are commonly cold and weak, for his power was the power of nature; when he endeavoured, like other tragick writers, to catch opportunities of amplification, and inſtead of inquiring what the occaſion demanded, to ſhew how much his ſtores of knowledge could ſupply, he ſeldom eſcapes without the pity or reſentment of his reader.

It is incident to him to be now and then entangled with an unwieldy ſentiment, which he cannot well expreſs, and will not reject; he ſtruggles with it a while, and, if it continues ſtubborn, compriſes it in words ſuch as occur, and leaves it to be diſentangled and evolved by thoſe who have more leiſure to beſtow upon it.

Not that always where the language is intricate the thought is ſubtle, or the image always great where the line is bulky; the equality of words to things is very often neglected, and trivial ſentiments and vulgar ideas diſappoint the attention, to which they are recommended by ſonorous epithets and ſwelling figures.

But the admirers of this great poet have moſt reaſon to complain when he approaches neareſt to his higheſt excellence, and ſeems fully reſolved to ſink them

Digitized by Google

them in dejection, and mollify them with tender emotions by the fall of greatneſs, the danger of innocence, or the croſſes of love. What he does beſt, he ſoon ceaſes to do. He is not ſoft and pathetick without ſome idle conceit, or contemptible equivocation. He no ſooner begins to move, than he counteracts himſelf; and terror and pity, as they are riſing in the mind, are checked and blaſted by ſudden frigidity.

A quibble is to *Shakeſpeare*, what luminous vapours are to the traveller: he follows it at all adventures; it is ſure to lead him out of his way, and ſure to engulf him in the mire. It has ſome malignant power over his mind, and its faſcinations are irreſiſtible. Whatever be the dignity or profundity of his diſquiſition, whether he be enlarging knowledge or exalting affection, whether he be amuſing attention with incidents, or enchaining it in ſuſpenſe, let but a quibble ſpring up before him, and he leaves his work unfiniſhed. A quibble is the golden apple for which he will always turn aſide from his career, or ſtoop from his elevation. A quibble, poor and barren as it is, gave him ſuch delight, that he was content to purchaſe it, by the ſacrifice of reaſon, propriety, and truth. A quibble was to him the fatal *Cleopatra* for which he loſt the world, and was content to loſe it.

It will be thought ſtrange, that, in enumerating the defects of this writer, I have not yet mentioned his neglect of the unities; his violation of thoſe laws which have been inſtituted and eſtabliſhed by the joint authority of poets and criticks.

For

Digitized by Google

For his other deviations from the art of writing, I reſign him to critical juſtice, without making any other demand in his favour, than that which muſt be indulged to all human excellence: that his virtues be rated with his failings: but from the cenſure which this irregularity may bring upon him, I ſhall, with due reverence to that learning which I muſt oppoſe, adventure to try how I can defend him.

His hiſtories, being neither tragedies nor comedies, are not ſubject to any of their laws; nothing more is neceſſary to all the praiſe which they expect, than that the changes of action be ſo prepared as to be underſtood; that the incidents be various and affecting, and the characters conſiſtent, natural, and diſtinct. No other unity is intended, and therefore none is to be ſought.

In his other works he has well enough preſerved the unity of action. He has not, indeed, an intrigue regularly perplexed and regularly unravelled: he does not endeavour to hide his deſign only to diſcover it, for this is ſeldom the order of real events, and *Shakeſpeare* is the poet of nature: but his plan has commonly, what *Ariſtotle* requires, a beginning, a middle, and an end; one event is concatenated with another, and the concluſion follows by eaſy conſequence. There are perhaps ſome incidents that might be ſpared, as in other poets there is much talk that only fills up time upon the ſtage; but the general ſyſtem makes gradual advances, and the end of the play is the end of expectation.

To the unities of time and place he has ſhewn no regard; and perhaps a nearer view of the principles on

Digitized by Google

on which they ſtand will diminiſh their value, and withdraw from them the veneration which, from the time of *Corneille*, they have very generally received, by diſcovering that they have given more trouble to the poet, than pleaſure to the auditor.

The neceſſity of obſerving the unities of time and place ariſes from the ſuppoſed neceſſity of making the drama credible. The criticks hold it impoſſible that an action of months or years can be poſſibly believed to paſs in three hours; or that the ſpectator can ſuppoſe himſelf to ſit in the theatre, while ambaſſadors go and return between diſtant kings, while armies are levied and towns beſieged, while an exile wanders and returns, or till he whom they ſaw courting his miſtreſs, ſhall lament the untimely fall of his ſon. The mind revolts from evident falſhood, and fiction loſes its force when it departs from the reſemblance of reality.

From the narrow limitation of time neceſſarily ariſes the contraction of place. The ſpectator, who knows that he ſaw the firſt act at *Alexandria*, cannot ſuppoſe that he ſees the next at *Rome*, at a diſtance to which not the dragons of *Medea* could, in ſo ſhort a time, have tranſported him; he knows with certainty that he has not changed his place; and he knows that place cannot change itſelf; that what was a houſe cannot become a plain; that what was *Thebes* can never be *Perſepolis*.

Such is the triumphant language with which a critick exults over the miſery of an irregular poet, and exults commonly without reſiſtance or reply. It is time, therefore, to tell him by the authority of *Shakeſpeare*, that he aſſumes, as an unqueſtionable principle,

Digitized by Google

principle, a poſition, which, while his breath is forming it into words, his underſtanding pronounces to be falſe. It is falſe, that any repreſentation is miſtaken for reality; that any dramatick fable in its materiality was ever credible, or, for a ſingle moment, was ever credited.

The objection ariſing from the impoſſibility of paſſing the firſt hour at *Alexandria*, and the next at *Rome*, ſuppoſes, that when the play opens, the ſpectator really imagines himſelf at *Alexandria*, and believes that his walk to the theatre has been a voyage to *Egypt*, and that he lives in the days of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*. Surely he that imagines this may imagine more. He that can take the ſtage at one time for the palace of the *Ptolemies*, may take it in half an hour for the promontory of *Actium*. Deluſion, if deluſion be admitted, has no certain limitation; if the ſpectator can be once perſuaded, that his old acquaintance are *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, that a room illuminated with candles is the plain of *Pharſalia*, or the bank of *Granicus*, he is in a ſtate of elevation above the reach of reaſon, or of truth, and from the heights of empyrean poetry, may deſpiſe the circumſcriptions of terreſtrial nature. There is no reaſon why a mind thus wandering in ecſtacy ſhould count the clock, or why an hour ſhould not be a century in that calenture of the brain that can make the ſtage a field.

The truth is, that the ſpectators are always in their ſenſes, and know, from the firſt act to the laſt, that the ſtage is only a ſtage, and that the players are only players. They came to hear a certain number of lines recited with juſt geſture and elegant

Digitized by Google

modulation. The lines relate to ſome action, and an action muſt be in ſome place; but the different actions that complete a ſtory may be in places very remote from each other; and where is the abſurdity of allowing that ſpace to repreſent firſt *Athens*, and then *Sicily*, which was always known to be neither *Sicily* nor *Athens*, but a modern theatre?

By ſuppoſition, as place is introduced, time may be extended; the time required by the fable elapſes for the moſt part between the acts; for, of ſo much of the action as is repreſented, the real and poetical duration is the ſame. If, in the firſt act, preparations for war againſt *Mithridates* are repreſented to be made in *Rome*, the event of the war may, without abſurdity, be repreſented, in the cataſtrophe, as happening in *Pontus*; we know that there is neither war, nor preparation for war; we know that we are neither in *Rome* nor *Pontus*; that neither *Mithridates* nor *Lucullus* are before us. The drama exhibits ſucceſſive imitations of ſucceſſive actions; and why may not the ſecond imitation repreſent an action that happened years after the firſt, if it be ſo connected with it, that nothing but time can be ſuppoſed to intervene? Time is, of all modes of exiſtence, moſt obſequious to the imagination; a lapſe of years is as eaſily conceived as a paſſage of hours. In contemplation we eaſily contract the time of real actions, and therefore willingly permit it to be contracted when we only ſee their imitation.

It will be aſked, how the drama moves, if it is not credited. It is credited with all the credit due to a drama. It is credited, whenever it moves, as a juſt picture of a real original; as repreſenting to the auditor

Digitized by Google

ditor what he would himſelf feel, if he were to do or ſuffer what is there feigned to be ſuffered or to be done. The reflection that ſtrikes the heart is not, that the evils before us are real evils, but that they are evils to which we ourſelves may be expoſed. If there be any fallacy, it is not that we fancy the players, but that we fancy ourſelves unhappy for a moment; but we rather lament the poſſibility than ſuppoſe the preſence of miſery, as a mother weeps over her babe, when ſhe remembers that death may take it from her. The delight of tragedy proceeds from our conſciouſneſs of fiction; if we thought murders and treaſons real, they would pleaſe no more.

Imitations produce pain or pleaſure, not becauſe they are miſtaken for realities, but becauſe they bring realities to mind. When the imagination is recreated by a painted landſcape, the trees are not ſuppoſed capable to give us ſhade, or the fountains coolneſs; but we conſider how we ſhould be pleaſed with ſuch fountains playing beſide us, and ſuch woods waving over us. We are agitated in reading the hiſtory of *Henry the Fifth*, yet no man takes his book for the field of *Agincourt*. A dramatick exhibition is a book recited with concomitants that increaſe or diminiſh its effect. Familiar comedy is often more powerful on the theatre, than in the page; imperial tragedy is always leſs. The humour of *Petruchio* may be heightened by grimace; but what voice or what geſture can hope to add dignity or force to the ſoliloquy of *Cato*?

A play read affects the mind like a play acted. It is therefore evident, that the action is not ſuppoſed to be real; and it follows, that between the

Digitized by Google

acts a longer or shorter time may be allowed to pass, and that no more account of space or duration is to be taken by the auditor of a drama, than by the reader of a narrative, before whom may pass in an hour the life of a hero, or the revolutions of an empire.

Whether *Shakespeare* knew the unities, and rejected them by design, or deviated from them by happy ignorance, it is, I think, impossible to decide, and useless to enquire. We may reasonably suppose, that, when he rose to notice, he did not want the counsels and admonitions of scholars and criticks, and that he at last deliberately persisted in a practice, which he might have begun by chance. As nothing is essential to the fable but unity of action, and as the unities of time and place arise evidently from false assumptions, and, by circumscribing the extent of the drama, lessen its variety, I cannot think it much to be lamented, that they were not known by him, or not observed: nor, if such another poet could arise, should I very vehemently reproach him, that his first act passed at *Venice*, and his next in *Cyprus*. Such violations of rules merely positive become the comprehensive genius of *Shakespeare*, and such censures are suitable to the minute and slender criticism of *Voltaire*.

> *Non usque adeo permiscuit imis*
> *Longus summa dies, ut non, si voce Metelli*
> *Serventur leges, malint a Cæsare tolli.*

Yet when I speak thus slightly of dramatick rules, I cannot but recollect how much wit and learning may be produced against me; before such authorities I am

Digitized by Google

I am afraid to ſtand, not that I think the preſent queſtion one of thoſe that are to be decided by mere authority, but becauſe it is to be ſuſpected, that theſe precepts have not been ſo eaſily received, but for better reaſons than I have yet been able to find. The reſult of my enquiries, in which it would be ludicrous to boaſt of impartiality, is, that the unities of time and place are not eſſential to a juſt drama, that though they may ſometimes conduce to pleaſure, they are always to be ſacrificed to the nobler beauties of variety and inſtruction; and that a play written with nice obſervation of critical rules, is to be contemplated as an elaborate curioſity, as the product of ſuperfluous and oſtentatious art, by which is ſhewn, rather what is poſſible, than what is neceſſary.

He that, without diminution of any other excellence, ſhall preſerve all the unities unbroken, deſerves the like applauſe with the architect, who ſhall diſplay all the orders of architecture in a citadel, without any deduction from its ſtrength: but the principal beauty of a citadel is to exclude the enemy; and the greateſt graces of a play are to copy nature, and inſtruct life.

Perhaps, what I have here not dogmatically but deliberately written, may recall the principles of the drama to a new examination. I am almoſt frighted at my own temerity; and when I eſtimate the fame and the ſtrength of thoſe that maintain the contrary opinion, am ready to ſink down in reverential ſilence; as *Æneas* withdrew from the defence of *Troy*, when he ſaw *Neptune* ſhaking the wall, and *Juno* heading the beſiegers.

Digitized by Google

Thoſe whom my arguments cannot perſuade to give their approbation to the judgment of *Shakeſpeare*, will eaſily, if they conſider the condition of his life, make ſome allowance for his ignorance.

Every man's performances, to be rightly eſtimated, muſt be compared with the ſtate of the age in which he lived, and with his own particular opportunities; and though to the reader a book be not worſe or better for the circumſtances of the author, yet as there is always a ſilent reference of human works to human abilities, and as the enquiry, how far man may extend his deſigns, or how high he may rate his native force, is of far greater dignity than in what rank we ſhall place any particular performance, curioſity is always buſy to diſcover the inſtruments, as well as to ſurvey the workmanſhip, to know how much is to be aſcribed to original powers, and how much to caſual and adventitious help. The palaces of *Peru* or *Mexico* were certainly mean and incommodious habitations, if compared to the houſes of *European* monarchs; yet who could forbear to view them with aſtoniſhment, who remembered that they were built without the uſe of iron?

The *Engliſh* nation, in the time of *Shakeſpeare*, was yet ſtruggling to emerge from barbarity. The philology of *Italy* had been tranſplanted hither in the reign of *Henry the Eighth*; and the learned languages had been ſucceſsfully cultivated by *Lilly*, *Linacre*, and *More*; by *Pole*, *Cheke*, and *Gardiner*; and afterwards by *Smith*, *Clerk*, *Haddon*, and *Aſcham*. *Greek* was now taught to boys in the principal ſchools; and thoſe who united elegance with learning, read, with great diligence, the *Italian* and

Digitized by Google

Spaniſh poets. But literature was yet confined to profeſſed ſcholars, or to men and women of high rank. The publick was groſs and dark; and to be able to read and write, was an accompliſhment ſtill valued for its rarity.

Nations, like individuals, have their infancy. A people newly awakened to literary curioſity, being yet unacquainted with the true ſtate of things, knows not how to judge of that which is propoſed as its reſemblance. Whatever is remote from common appearances is always welcome to vulgar, as to childiſh credulity; and of a country unenlightened by learning, the whole people is the vulgar. The ſtudy of thoſe who then aſpired to plebeian learning was laid out upon adventures, giants, dragons, and enchantments. *The Death of Arthur* was the favourite volume.

The mind, which has feaſted on the luxurious wonders of fiction, has no taſte of the inſipidity of truth. A play, which imitated only the common occurrences of the world, would, upon the admirers of *Palmerin* and *Guy of Warwick*, have made little impreſſion; he that wrote for ſuch an audience was under the neceſſity of looking round for ſtrange events and fabulous tranſactions; and that incredibility, by which maturer knowledge is offended, was the chief recommendation of writings, to unſkilful curioſity.

Our author's plots are generally borrowed from novels; and it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he choſe the moſt popular, ſuch as were read by many, and related by more; for his audience could not have followed him through the intricacies of the

Digitized by Google

drama, had they not held the thread of the ſtory in their hands.

The ſtories, which we now find only in remoter authors, were in his time acceſſible and familiar. The fable of *As you like it*, which is ſuppoſed to be copied from *Chaucer's Gamelyn*, was a little pamphlet of thoſe times; and old Mr. *Cibber* remembered the tale of *Hamlet* in plain *Engliſh* proſe, which the criticks have now to ſeek in *Saxo Grammaticus*.

His *Engliſh* hiſtories he took from *Engliſh* chronicles and *Engliſh* ballads; and as the ancient writers were made known to his countrymen by verſions, they ſupplied him with new ſubjects; he dilated ſome of *Plutarch*'s lives into plays, when they had been tranſlated by *North*.

His plots, whether hiſtorical or fabulous, are always crowded with incidents, by which the attention of a rude people was more eaſily caught than by ſentiment or argumentation; and ſuch is the power of the marvellous, even over thoſe who deſpiſe it, that every man finds his mind more ſtrongly ſeized by the tragedies of *Shakeſpeare* than of any other writer: others pleaſe us by particular ſpeeches; but he always makes us anxious for the event, and has perhaps excelled all but *Homer* in ſecuring the firſt purpoſe of a writer, by exciting reſtleſs and unquenchable curioſity, and compelling him that reads his work to read it through.

The ſhows and buſtle with which his plays abound have the ſame original. As knowledge advances, pleaſure paſſes from the eye to the ear, but returns, as it declines, from the ear to the eye. Thoſe to whom our author's labours were exhibited had more

ſkill

Digitized by Google

ſkill in pomps or proceſſions than in poetical language, and perhaps wanted ſome viſible and diſcriminated events, as comments on the dialogue. He knew how he ſhould moſt pleaſe; and whether his practice is more agreeable to nature, or whether his example has prejudiced the nation, we ſtill find that on our ſtage ſomething muſt be done as well as ſaid, and inactive declamation is very coldly heard, however muſical or elegant, paſſionate or ſublime.

Voltaire expreſſes his wonder, that our author's extravagancies are endured by a nation, which has ſeen the tragedy of *Cato*. Let him be anſwered, that *Addiſon* ſpeaks the language of poets; and *Shakeſpeare*, of men. We find in *Cato* innumerable beauties which enamour us of its author, but we ſee nothing that acquaints us with human ſentiments or human actions; we place it with the faireſt and the nobleſt progeny which judgment propagates by conjunction with learning; but *Othello* is the vigorous and vivacious offspring of obſervation impregnated by genius. *Cato* affords a ſplendid exhibition of artificial and fictitious manners, and delivers juſt and noble ſentiments, in diction eaſy, elevated, and harmonious, but its hopes and fears communicate no vibration to the heart; the compoſition refers us only to the writer; we pronounce the name of *Cato*, but we think on *Addiſon*.

The work of a correct and regular writer is a garden accurately formed and diligently planted, varied with ſhades, and ſcented with flowers; the compoſition of *Shakeſpeare* is a foreſt, in which oaks extend their branches, and pines tower in the air, interſperſed ſometimes with weeds and brambles, and ſometimes

Digitized by Google

ſometimes giving ſhelter to myrtles and to roſes; filling the eye with awful pomp, and gratifying the mind with endleſs diverſity. Other poets diſplay cabinets of precious rarities, minutely finiſhed, wrought into ſhape, and poliſhed into brightneſs. *Shakeſpeare* opens a mine which contains gold and diamonds in unexhauſtible plenty, though clouded by incruſtations, debaſed by impurities, and mingled with a maſs of meaner minerals.

It has been much diſputed, whether *Shakeſpeare* owed his excellence to his own native force, or whether he had the common helps of ſcholaſtick education, the precepts of critical ſcience, and the examples of ancient authors.

There has always prevailed a tradition, that *Shakeſpeare* wanted learning, that he had no regular education, nor much ſkill in the dead languages. Jonſon, his friend, affirms, that *he had ſmall Latin, and leſs Greek*; who, beſides that he had no imaginable temptation to falſehood, wrote at a time when the character and acquiſitions of *Shakeſpeare* were known to multitudes. His evidence ought therefore to decide the controverſy, unleſs ſome teſtimony of equal force could be oppoſed.

Some have imagined, that they have diſcovered deep learning in many imitations of old writers; but the examples which I have known urged were drawn from books tranſlated in his time; or were ſuch eaſy coincidences of thought, as will happen to all who conſider the ſame ſubjects; or ſuch remarks on life or axioms of morality as float in converſation, and are tranſmitted through the world in proverbial ſentences.

I have

Digitized by Google

I have found it remarked, that, in this important ſentence, *Go before, I'll follow*, we read a tranſlation of, *I præ, ſequar*. I have been told, that when Caliban, after a pleaſing dream, ſays, *I cry'd to ſleep again*, the author imitates Anacreon, who had, like every other man, the ſame wiſh on the ſame occaſion.

There are a few paſſages which may paſs for imitations, but ſo few, that the exception only confirms the rule; he obtained them from accidental quotations, or by oral communication, and as he uſed what he had, would have uſed more if he had obtained it.

The *Comedy of Errors* is confeſſedly taken from the *Menæchmi* of *Plautus*; from the only play of *Plautus* which was then in *Engliſh*. What can be more probable, than that he who copied that would have copied more; but that thoſe which were not tranſlated were inacceſſible?

Whether he knew the modern languages is uncertain. That his plays have ſome *French* ſcenes proves but little; he might eaſily procure them to be written, and probably, even though he had known the language in the common degree, he could not have written it without aſſiſtance. In the ſtory of *Romeo* and *Juliet* he is obſerved to have followed the *Engliſh* tranſlation, where it deviates from the *Italian*: but this on the other part proves nothing againſt his knowledge of the original. He was to copy, not what he knew himſelf, but what was known to his audience.

It is moſt likely that he had learned Latin ſufficiently to make him acquainted with conſtruction, but

Digitized by Google

but that he never advanced to an eaſy peruſal of the *Roman* authors. Concerning his ſkill in modern languages, I can find no ſufficient ground of determination; but as no imitations of *French* or *Italian* authors have been diſcovered, though the *Italian* poetry was then high in eſteem, I am inclined to believe, that he read little more than *Engliſh*, and choſe for his fables only ſuch tales as he found tranſlated.

That much knowledge is ſcattered over his works is very juſtly obſerved by *Pope*; but it is often ſuch knowledge as books did not ſupply. He that will underſtand *Shakeſpeare*, muſt not be content to ſtudy him in the cloſet, he muſt look for his meaning ſometimes among the ſports of the field, and ſometimes among the manufactures of the ſhop.

There is, however, proof enough that he was a very diligent reader, nor was our language then ſo indigent of books, but that he might very liberally indulge his curioſity without excurſion into foreign literature. Many of the *Roman* authors were tranſlated, and ſome of the *Greek*; the Reformation had filled the kingdom with theological learning; moſt of the topicks of human diſquiſition had found *Engliſh* writers; and poetry had been cultivated, not only with diligence, but ſucceſs. This was a ſtock of knowledge ſufficient for a mind ſo capable of appropriating and improving it.

But the greater part of his excellence was the product of his own genius. He found the *Engliſh* ſtage in a ſtate of the utmoſt rudeneſs; no eſſays either in tragedy or comedy had appeared, from which it could be diſcovered to what degree of delight either one

Digitized by Google

one or other might be carried. Neither character nor dialogue were yet underſtood. *Shakeſpeare* may be truly ſaid to have introduced them both amongſt us, and in ſome of his happier ſcenes to have carried them both to the utmoſt height.

By what gradations of improvement he proceeded, is not eaſily known; for the chronology of his works is yet unſettled. *Rowe* is of opinion, that *perhaps we are not to look for his beginning, like thoſe of other writers; in his leaſt perfect works; art had ſo little, and nature ſo large a ſhare in what he did, that for aught I know*, ſays he, *the performances of his youth, as they were the moſt vigorous, were the beſt.* But the power of nature is only the power of uſing to any certain purpoſe the materials which diligence procures, or opportunity ſupplies. Nature gives no man knowledge, and, when images are collected by ſtudy and experience, can only aſſiſt in combining or applying them. *Shakeſpeare*, however favoured by nature, could impart only what he had learned; and as he muſt increaſe his ideas, like other mortals, by gradual acquiſition, he, like them, grew wiſer as he grew older, could diſplay life better, as he knew it more, and inſtruct with more efficacy, as he was himſelf more amply inſtructed.

There is a vigilance of obſervation and accuracy of diſtinction which books and precepts cannot confer; from this almoſt all original and native excellence proceeds. *Shakeſpeare* muſt have looked upon mankind with perſpicacity, in the higheſt degree curious and attentive. Other writers borrow their characters from preceding writers, and diverſify them only

Digitized by Google

only by the accidental appendages of preſent manners; the dreſs is a little varied, but the body is the ſame. Our author had both matter and form to provide; for, except the characters of *Chaucer*, to whom I think he is not much indebted, there were no writers in *Engliſh*, and perhaps not many in other modern languages, which ſhewed life in its native colours.

The conteſt about the original benevolence or malignity of man had not yet commenced. Speculation had not yet attempted to analyſe the mind, to trace the paſſions to their ſources, to unfold the ſeminal principles of vice and virtue, or ſound the depths of the heart for the motives of action. All thoſe enquiries, which from that time that human nature became the faſhionable ſtudy, have been made ſometimes with nice diſcernment, but often with idle ſubtilty, were yet unattempted. The tales, with which the infancy of learning was ſatisfied, exhibited only the ſuperficial appearances of action, related the events, but omitted the cauſes, and were formed for ſuch as delighted in wonders rather than in truth. Mankind was not then to be ſtudied in the cloſet; he that would know the world, was under the neceſſity of gleaning his own remarks, by mingling as he could in its buſineſs and amuſements.

Boyle congratulated himſelf upon his high birth, becauſe it favoured his curioſity, by facilitating his acceſs. *Shakeſpeare* had no ſuch advantage; he came to *London* a needy adventurer, and lived for a time by very mean employments. Many works of genius and learning have been performed in ſtates of

Digitized by Google

of life that appear very little favourable to thought or to enquiry; ſo many, that he who conſiders them is inclined to think that he ſees enterprize and perſeverance predominating over all external agency, and bidding help and hindrance vaniſh before them. The genius of *Shakeſpeare* was not to be depreſſed by the weight of poverty, nor limited by the narrow converſation to which men in want are inevitably condemned; the incumbrances of his fortune were ſhaken from his mind, *as dew drops from a lion's mane.*

Though he had ſo many difficulties to encounter, and ſo little aſſiſtance to ſurmount them, he has been able to obtain an exact knowledge of many modes of life, and many caſts of native diſpoſitions; to vary them with great multiplicity; to mark them by nice diſtinctions; and to ſhew them in full view by proper combinations. In this part of his performances he had none to imitate, but has been himſelf imitated by all ſucceeding writers; and it may be doubted, whether from all his ſucceſſors more maxims of theoretical knowledge, or more rules of practical prudence, can be collected, than he alone has given to his country.

Nor was his attention confined to the actions of men; he was an exact ſurveyor of the inanimate world; his deſcriptions have always ſome peculiarities, gathered by contemplating things as they really exiſt. It may be obſerved that the oldeſt poets of many nations preſerve their reputation, and that the following generations of wit, after a ſhort celebrity, ſink into oblivion. The firſt, whoever they be, muſt take their ſentiments and deſcriptions immediately

Digitized by Google

immediately from knowledge; the reſemblance is therefore juſt, their deſcriptions are verified by every eye, and their ſentiments acknowledged by every breaſt. Thoſe whom their fame invites to the ſame ſtudies, copy partly them, and partly nature, till the books of one age gain ſuch authority, as to ſtand in the place of nature to another, and imitation, always deviating a little, becomes at laſt capricious and caſual. *Shakeſpeare*, whether life or nature be his ſubject, ſhews plainly that he has ſeen with his own eyes; he gives the image which he receives, not weakened or diſtorted by the intervention of any other mind; the ignorant feel his repreſentations to be juſt, and the learned ſee that they are complete.

Perhaps it would not be eaſy to find any author, except *Homer*, who invented ſo much as *Shakeſpeare*, who ſo much advanced the ſtudies which he cultivated, or effuſed ſo much novelty upon his age or country. The form, the characters, the language, and the ſhows of the *Engliſh* drama are his. *He ſeems*, ſays Dennis, *to have been the very original of our* Engliſh *tragical harmony, that is, the harmony of blank verſe, diverſified often by diſſyllable and triſſyllable terminations. For the diverſity diſtinguiſhes it from heroick harmony, and by bringing it nearer to common uſe makes it more proper to gain attention, and more fit for action and dialogue. Such verſe we make when we are writing proſe; we make ſuch verſe in common converſation.*

I know not whether this praiſe is rigorouſly juſt. The diſſyllable termination, which the critick rightly appropriates to the drama, is to be found, though,

Digitized by Google

though, I think, not in *Gorboduc*, which is confeſſedly before our author; yet in *Hieronymo**, of which the date is not certain, but which there is reaſon to believe at leaſt as old as his earlieſt plays. This however is certain, that he is the firſt who taught either tragedy or comedy to pleaſe, there being no theatrical piece of any older writer, of which the name is known, except to antiquaries and collectors of books, which are ſought becauſe they are ſcarce, and would not have been ſcarce, had they been much eſteemed.

To him we muſt aſcribe the praiſe, unleſs *Spenſer* may divide it with him, of having firſt diſcovered to how much ſmoothneſs and harmony the *Engliſh* language could be ſoftened. He has ſpeeches, perhaps ſometimes ſcenes, which have all the delicacy of *Rowe*, without his effeminacy. He endeavours indeed commonly to ſtrike by the force and vigour of his dialogue, but he never executes his purpoſe better, than when he tries to ſooth by ſoftneſs.

Yet it muſt be at laſt confeſſed, that as we owe every thing to him, he owes ſomething to us; that, if much of his praiſe is paid by perception and judgment, much is likewiſe given by cuſtom and veneration. We fix our eyes upon his graces, and turn them from his deformities, and endure in him what we ſhould in another loath or deſpiſe. If we endured without praiſing, reſpect for the father of our drama might excuſe us; but I have ſeen, in the book of ſome modern critick, a collection of anomalies, which ſhew that he has corrupted language

* It appears, from the induction of Ben Jonſon's *Bartholomew Fair*, to have been acted before the year 1590. STEEVENS.

Digitized by Google

by every mode of depravation, but which his admirer has accumulated as a monument of honour.

He has ſcenes of undoubted and perpetual excellence; but perhaps not one play, which, if it were now exhibited as the work of a contemporary writer, would be heard to the concluſion. I am indeed far from thinking, that his works were wrought to his own ideas of perfection; when they were ſuch as would ſatisfy the audience, they ſatisfied the writer. It is ſeldom that authors, though more ſtudious of fame than *Shakeſpeare*, riſe much above the ſtandard of their own age; to add a little to what is beſt will always be ſufficient for preſent praiſe, and thoſe who find themſelves exalted into fame, are willing to credit their encomiaſts, and to ſpare the labour of contending with themſelves.

It does not appear, that *Shakeſpeare* thought his works worthy of poſterity, that he levied any ideal tribute upon future times, or had any further proſpect, than of preſent popularity and preſent profit. When his plays had been acted, his hope was at an end; he ſolicited no addition of honour from the reader. He therefore made no ſcruple to repeat the ſame jeſts in many dialogues, or to entangle different plots by the ſame knot of perplexity; which may be at leaſt forgiven him, by thoſe who recollect, that of *Congreve*'s four comedies, two are concluded by a marriage in a maſk, by a deception, which perhaps never happened, and which, whether likely or not, he did not invent.

So careleſs was this great poet of future fame, that, though he retired to eaſe and plenty, while he was yet little *declined into the vale of years*, before

Digitized by Google

he could be diſguſted with fatigue, or diſabled by infirmity, he made no collection of his works, nor deſired to reſcue thoſe that had been already publiſhed from the depravations that obſcured them, or ſecure to the reſt a better deſtiny, by giving them to the world in their genuine ſtate.

Of the plays which bear the name of *Shakeſpeare* in the late editions, the greater part were not publiſhed till about ſeven years after his death; and the few which appeared in his life are apparently thruſt into the world without the care of the author, and therefore probably without his knowledge.

Of all the publiſhers, clandeſtine or profeſſed, the negligence and unſkilfulneſs has by the late reviſers been ſufficiently ſhewn. The faults of all are indeed numerous and groſs, and have not only corrupted many paſſages perhaps beyond recovery, but have brought others into ſuſpicion, which are only obſcured by obſolete phraſeology, or by the writer's unſkilfulneſs and affectation. To alter is more eaſy than to explain, and temerity is a more common quality than diligence. Thoſe who ſaw that they muſt employ conjecture to a certain degree, were willing to indulge it a little further. Had the author publiſhed his own works, we ſhould have ſat quietly down to diſentangle his intricacies, and clear his obſcurities; but now we tear what we cannot looſe, and eject what we happen not to underſtand.

The faults are more than could have happened without the concurrence of many cauſes. The ſtyle of *Shakeſpeare* was in itſelf ungrammatical, perplexed, and obſcure; his works were tranſcribed for

Digitized by Google

the players by thoſe who may be ſuppoſed to have ſeldom underſtood them; they were tranſmitted by copiers equally unſkilful, who ſtill multiplied errors; they were perhaps ſometimes mutilated by the actors, for the ſake of ſhortening the ſpeeches; and were at laſt printed without correction of the preſs.

In this ſtate they remained, not as Dr. *Warburton* ſuppoſes, becauſe they were unregarded, but becauſe the editor's art was not yet applied to modern languages, and our anceſtors were accuſtomed to ſo much negligence of *Engliſh* printers, that they could very patiently endure it. At laſt an edition was undertaken by *Rowe*; not becauſe a poet was to be publiſhed by a poet, for *Rowe* ſeems to have thought very little on correction or explanation; but that our author's works might appear like thoſe of his fraternity, with the appendages of a life and recommendatory preface. *Rowe* has been clamorouſly blamed for not performing what he did not undertake; and it is time that juſtice be done him, by confeſſing, that though he ſeems to have had no thought of corruption beyond the printer's errors, yet he has made many emendations, if they were not made before, which his ſucceſſors have received without acknowledgment, and which, if they had produced them, would have filled pages and pages with cenſures of the ſtupidity by which the faults were committed, with diſplays of the abſurdities which they involved, with oſtentatious expoſition of the new reading, and ſelf-congratulations on the happineſs of diſcovering.

As

Digitized by Google

As of the other editors I have preſerved the prefaces, I have likewiſe borrowed the author's life from *Rowe*, though not written with much elegance or ſpirit; it relates however what is now to be known, and therefore deſerves to paſs through all ſucceeding publications.

The nation had been for many years content enough with Mr. *Rowe's* performance, when Mr. *Pope* made them acquainted with the true ſtate of *Shakeſpeare's* text, ſhewed that it was extremely corrupt, and gave reaſon to hope that there were means of reforming it. He collated the old copies, which none had thought to examine before, and reſtored many lines to their integrity; but, by a very compendious criticiſm, he rejected whatever he diſliked, and thought more of amputation than of cure.

I know not why he is commended by Dr. *Warburton* for diſtinguiſhing the genuine from the ſpurious plays. In this choice he exerted no judgment of his own; the plays which he received, were given by *Hemings* and *Condel*, the firſt editors; and thoſe which he rejected, though, according to the licentiouſneſs of the preſs in thoſe times, they were printed during *Shakeſpeare's* life, with his name, had been omitted by his friends, and were never added to his works before the edition of 1664, from which they were copied by the later printers.

This is a work which *Pope* ſeems to have thought unworthy of his abilities, being not able to ſuppreſs his contempt of *the dull duty of an editor*. He underſtood but half his undertaking. The duty of a collator is indeed dull, yet, like other tedious taſks, is very neceſſary; but an emendatory critick would

Digitized by Google

ill discharge his duty, without qualities very different from dulness. In perusing a corrupted piece, he must have before him all possibilities of meaning, with all possibilities of expression. Such must be his comprehension of thought, and such his copiousness of language. Out of many readings possible, he must be able to select that which best suits with the state, opinions, and modes of language prevailing in every age, and with his author's particular cast of thought, and turn of expression. Such must be his knowledge, and such his taste. Conjectural criticism demands more than humanity possesses, and he that exercises it with most praise, has very frequent need of indulgence. Let us now be told no more of the dull duty of an editor.

Confidence is the common consequence of success. They whose excellence of any kind has been loudly celebrated, are ready to conclude, that their powers are universal. *Pope*'s edition fell below his own expectations, and he was so much offended when he was found to have left any thing for others to do, that he passed the latter part of his life in a state of hostility with verbal criticism.

I have retained all his notes, that no fragment of so great a writer may be lost; his preface, valuable alike for elegance of composition and justness of remark, and containing a general criticism on his author, so extensive that little can be added, and so exact that little can be disputed, every editor has an interest to suppress, but that every reader would demand its insertion.

Pope was succeeded by *Theobald*, a man of narrow comprehension, and small acquisitions, with no native

Digitized by Google

native and intrinſic ſplendor of genius, with little of the artificial light of learning, but zealous for minute accuracy, and not negligent in purſuing it. He collated the ancient copies, and rectified many errors. A man ſo anxiouſly ſcrupulous might have been expected to do more, but what little he did was commonly right.

In his reports of copies and editions he is not to be truſted without examination. He ſpeaks ſometimes indefinitely of copies, when he has only one. In his enumeration of editions, he mentions the two firſt folios as of high, and the third folio as of middle authority; but the truth is, that the firſt is equivalent to all others, and that the reſt only deviate from it by the printer's negligence. Whoever has any of the folios has all, excepting thoſe diverſities which mere reiteration of editions will produce. I collated them all at the beginning, but afterwards uſed only the firſt.

Of his notes I have generally retained thoſe which he retained himſelf in his ſecond edition, except when they were confuted by ſubſequent annotators, or were too minute to merit preſervation. I have ſometimes adopted his reſtoration of a comma, without inſerting the panegyrick in which he celebrated himſelf for his atchievement. The exuberant excreſcence of his diction I have often lopped, his triumphant exultations over *Pope* and *Rowe* I have ſometimes ſuppreſſed, and his contemptible oſtentation I have frequently concealed; but I have in ſome places ſhewn him, as he would have ſhewn himſelf, for the reader's diverſion, that the inflated

Digitized by Google

emptineſs of ſome notes may juſtify or excuſe the contraction of the reſt.

Theobald, thus weak and ignorant, thus mean and faithleſs, thus petulant and oſtentatious, by the good luck of having *Pope* for his enemy, has eſcaped, and eſcaped alone, with reputation, from this undertaking. So willingly does the world ſupport thoſe who ſolicit favour, againſt thoſe who command reverence; and ſo eaſily is he praiſed, whom no man can envy.

Our author fell then into the hands of Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, the *Oxford* editor, a man, in my opinion, eminently qualified by nature for ſuch ſtudies. He had, what is the firſt requiſite to emendatory criticiſm, that intuition by which the poet's intention is immediately diſcovered, and that dexterity of intellect which diſpatches its work by the eaſieſt means. He had undoubtedly read much; his acquaintance with cuſtoms, opinions, and traditions, ſeems to have been large; and he is often learned without ſhew. He ſeldom paſſes what he does not underſtand, without an attempt to find or to make a meaning, and ſometimes haſtily makes what a little more attention would have found. He is ſolicitous to reduce to grammar what he could not be ſure that his author intended to be grammatical. *Shakeſpeare* regarded more the ſeries of ideas, than of words; and his language, not being deſigned for the reader's deſk, was all that he deſired it to be, if it conveyed his meaning to the audience.

Hanmer's care of the metre has been too violently cenſured. He found the meaſure reformed in ſo many

Digitized by Google

many paſſages by the ſilent labours of ſome editors, with the ſilent acquieſcence of the reſt, that he thought himſelf allowed to extend a little further the licence, which had already been carried ſo far without reprehenſion; and of his corrections in general, it muſt be confeſſed, that they are often juſt, and made commonly with the leaſt poſſible violation of the text.

But, by inſerting his emendations, whether invented or borrowed, into the page, without any notice of varying copies, he has appropriated the labour of his predeceſſors, and made his own edition of little authority. His confidence indeed, both in himſelf and others, was too great; he ſuppoſes all to be right that was done by *Pope* and *Theobald*; he ſeems not to ſuſpect a critick of fallibility; and it was but reaſonable that he ſhould claim what he ſo liberally granted.

As he never writes without careful enquiry and diligent conſideration, I have received all his notes, and believe that every reader will wiſh for more.

Of the laſt editor it is more difficult to ſpeak. Reſpect is due to high place, tenderneſs to living reputation, and veneration to genius and learning; but he cannot be juſtly offended at that liberty of which he has himſelf ſo frequently given an example, nor very ſolicitous what is thought of notes, which he ought never to have conſidered as part of his ſerious employments, and which, I ſuppoſe, ſince the ardour of compoſition is remitted, he no longer numbers among his happy effuſions.

The original and predominant error of his commentary, is acquieſcence in his firſt thoughts; that precipitation

Digitized by Google

precipitation which is produced by conſciouſneſs of quick diſcernment; and that confidence which preſumes to do, by ſurveying the ſurface, what labour only can perform, by penetrating the bottom. His notes exhibit ſometimes perverſe interpretations, and ſometimes improbable conjectures; he at one time gives the author more profundity of meaning than the ſentence admits, and at another diſcovers abſurdities, where the ſenſe is plain to every other reader. But his emendations are likewiſe often happy and juſt; and his interpretation of obſcure paſſages learned and ſagacious.

Of his notes, I have commonly rejected thoſe againſt which the general voice of the publick has exclaimed, or which their own incongruity immediately condemns, and which, I ſuppoſe, the author himſelf would deſire to be forgotten. Of the reſt, to part I have given the higheſt approbation, by inſerting the offered reading in the text; part I have left to the judgment of the reader, as doubtful, though ſpecious; and part I have cenſured without reſerve, but I am ſure without bitterneſs of malice, and, I hope, without wantonneſs of inſult.

It is no pleaſure to me, in reviſing my volumes, to obſerve how much paper is waſted in confutation. Whoever conſiders the revolutions of learning, and the various queſtions of greater or leſs importance, upon which wit and reaſon have exerciſed their powers, muſt lament the unſucceſsfulneſs of enquiry, and the ſlow advances of truth, when he reflects that great part of the labour of every writer is only the deſtruction of thoſe that went before him. The firſt care of the builder of a new ſyſtem, is to demoliſh

Digitized by Google

demoliſh the fabricks which are ſtanding. The chief deſire of him that comments an author, is to ſhew how much other commentators have corrupted and obſcured him. The opinions prevalent in one age, as truths above the reach of controverſy, are confuted and rejected in another, and riſe again to reception in remoter times. Thus the human mind is kept in motion without progreſs. Thus ſometimes truth and error, and ſometimes contrarieties of error, take each other's place by reciprocal invaſion. The tide of ſeeming knowledge, which is poured over one generation, retires and leaves another naked and barren; the ſudden meteors of intelligence, which for awhile appear to ſhoot their beams into the regions of obſcurity, on a ſudden withdraw their luſtre, and leave mortals again to grope their way.

Theſe elevations and depreſſions of renown, and the contradictions to which all improvers of knowledge muſt for ever be expoſed, ſince they are not eſcaped by the higheſt and brighteſt of mankind, may ſurely be endured with patience by criticks and annotators, who can rank themſelves but as the ſatellites of their authors. How canſt thou beg for life, ſays *Homer's* hero to his captive, when thou knoweſt that thou art now to ſuffer only what muſt another day be ſuffered by *Achilles?*

Dr. *Warburton* had a name ſufficient to confer celebrity to thoſe who could exalt themſelves into antagoniſts, and his notes have raiſed a clamour too loud to be diſtinct. His chief aſſailants are the authors of *The canons of criticiſm*, and of *The reviſal of Shakeſpeare's text*; of whom one ridicules his errors with

Digitized by Google

with airy petulance, ſuitable enough to the levity of the controverſy; the other attacks them with gloomy malignity, as if he were dragging to juſtice an aſſaſſin or incendiary. The one ſtings like a fly, ſucks a little blood, takes a gay flutter, and returns for more; the other bites like a viper, and would be glad to leave inflammations and gangrene behind him. When I think on one, with his confederates, I remember the danger of *Coriolanus*, who was afraid that *girls with ſpits, and boys with ſtones, ſhould ſlay him in puny battle*; when the other croſſes my imagination, I remember the prodigy in *Macbeth*:

A falcon tow'ring in his pride of place,
Was by a mouſing owl hawk'd at and kill'd.

Let me however do them juſtice. One is a wit, and one a ſcholar*. They have both ſhewn acuteneſs ſufficient in the diſcovery of faults, and have both advanced ſome probable interpretations of obſcure paſſages; but when they aſpire to conjecture and emendation, it appears how falſely we all eſtimate our own abilities, and the little which they have been able to perform might have taught them more candour to the endeavours of others.

Before Dr. *Warburton*'s edition, *Critical Obſervations on Shakeſpeare* had been publiſhed by Mr. *Upton*,

* It is extraordinary that this gentleman ſhould attempt ſo voluminous a work, as the *Reviſal of Shakeſpeare's text*, when he tells us in his preface, "he was not ſo fortunate as to be furniſhed with either of the folio editions, much leſs any of the ancient quartos: and even Sir *Thomas Hanmer*'s performance was known to him only by Dr. *Warburton*'s repreſentation." FARMER.

Digitized by Google

*ton**, a man ſkilled in languages, and acquainted with books, but who ſeems to have had no great vigour of genius, or nicety of taſte. Many of his explanations are curious and uſeful, but he likewiſe, though he profeſſed to oppoſe the licentious confidence of editors, and adhere to the old copies, is unable to reſtrain the rage of emendation, though his ardour is ill ſeconded by his ſkill. Every cold empirick, when his heart is expanded by a ſucceſsful experiment, ſwells into a theoriſt, and the laborious collator at ſome unlucky moment frolicks in conjecture.

Critical, hiſtorical, and explanatory notes have been likewiſe publiſhed upon *Shakeſpeare* by Dr. *Grey*, whoſe diligent peruſal of the old *Engliſh* writers has enabled him to make ſome uſeful obſervations. What he undertook he has well enough performed; but as he neither attempts judicial or emendatory criticiſm, he employs rather his memory than his ſagacity. It were to be wiſhed that all would endeavour to imitate his modeſty, who have not been able to ſurpaſs his knowledge.

I can ſay with great ſincerity of all my predeceſſors, what I hope will hereafter be ſaid of me, that not one has left *Shakeſpeare* without improvement; nor is there one to whom I have not been indebted for aſſiſtance and information. Whatever I have taken from them, it was my intention to refer to its original author, and it is certain, that what I have not given to another, I believed when I wrote it to be my own. In ſome perhaps I have been

* Republiſhed by him in 1748, after Dr. *Warburton*'s edition, with alterations, &c. STEEVENS.

Digitized by Google

been anticipated; but if I am ever found to encroach upon the remarks of any other commentator, I am willing that the honour, be it more or leſs, ſhould be transferred to the firſt claimant, for his right, and his alone, ſtands above diſpute; the ſecond can prove his pretenſions only to himſelf, nor can himſelf always diſtinguiſh invention, with ſufficient certainty, from recollection.

They have all been treated by me with candour, which they have not been careful of obſerving to one another. It is not eaſy to diſcover from what cauſe the acrimony of a ſcholiaſt can naturally proceed. The ſubjects to be diſcuſſed by him are of very ſmall importance; they involve neither property nor liberty; nor favour the intereſt of ſect or party. The various readings of copies, and different interpretations of a paſſage, ſeem to be queſtions that might exerciſe the wit, without engaging the paſſions. But whether it be, that *ſmall things make mean men proud*, and vanity catches ſmall occaſions; or that all contrariety of opinion, even in thoſe that can defend it no longer, makes proud men angry; there is often found in commentators a ſpontaneous ſtrain of invective and contempt, more eager and venomous than is vented by the moſt furious controvertiſt in politicks againſt thoſe whom he is hired to defame.

Perhaps the lightneſs of the matter may conduce to the vehemence of the agency; when the truth to be inveſtigated is ſo near to inexiſtence, as to eſcape attention, its bulk is to be enlarged by rage and exclamation: that to which all would be indifferent in its original ſtate, may attract notice when the fate of

Digitized by Google

of a name is appended to it. A commentator has indeed great temptations to ſupply by turbulence what he wants of dignity, to beat his little gold to a ſpacious ſurface, to work that to foam which no art or diligence can exalt to ſpirit.

The notes which I have borrowed or written are either illuſtrative, by which difficulties are explained; or judicial, by which faults and beauties are remarked; or emendatory, by which depravations are corrected.

The explanations tranſcribed from others, if I do not ſubjoin any other interpretation, I ſuppoſe commonly to be right, at leaſt I intend by acquieſcence to confeſs, that I have nothing better to propoſe.

After the labours of all the editors, I found many paſſages which appeared to me likely to obſtruct the greater number of readers, and thought it my duty to facilitate their paſſage. It is impoſſible for an expoſitor not to write too little for ſome, and too much for others. He can only judge what is neceſſary by his own experience; and how long ſoever he may deliberate, will at laſt explain many lines which the learned will think impoſſible to be miſtaken, and omit many for which the ignorant will want his help. Theſe are cenſures merely relative, and muſt be quietly endured. I have endeavoured to be neither ſuperfluouſly copious, nor ſcrupulouſly reſerved, and hope that I have made my author's meaning acceſſible to many, who before were frighted from peruſing him, and contributed ſomething to the publick, by diffuſing innocent and rational pleaſure.

The

Digitized by Google

The complete explanation of an author not ſyſtematick and conſequential, but deſultory and vagrant, abounding in caſual alluſions and light hints, is not to be expected from any ſingle ſcholiaſt. All perſonal reflections, when names are ſuppreſſed, muſt be in a few years irrecoverably obliterated; and cuſtoms, too minute to attract the notice of law, ſuch as modes of dreſs, formalities of converſation, rules of viſits, diſpoſition of furniture, and practices of ceremony, which naturally find places in familiar dialogue, are ſo fugitive and unſubſtantial, that they are not eaſily retained or recovered. What can be known will be collected by chance, from the receſſes of obſcure and obſolete papers, peruſed commonly with ſome other view. Of this knowledge every man has ſome, and none has much; but when an author has engaged the publick attention, thoſe who can add any thing to his illuſtration, communicate their diſcoveries, and time produces what had eluded diligence.

To time I have been obliged to reſign many paſſages, which, though I did not underſtand them, will perhaps hereafter be explained; having, I hope, illuſtrated ſome, which others have neglected or miſtaken, ſometimes by ſhort remarks, or marginal directions, ſuch as every editor has added at his will, and often by comments more laborious than the matter will ſeem to deſerve; but that which is moſt difficult is not always moſt important, and to an editor nothing is a trifle by which his author is obſcured.

The poetical beauties or defects I have not been very diligent to obſerve. Some plays have more,

and

Digitized by Google

and ſome fewer judicial obſervations, not in proportion to their difference of merit, but becauſe I gave this part of my deſign to chance and to caprice. The reader, I believe, is ſeldom pleaſed to find his opinion anticipated; it is natural to delight more in what we find or make, than in what we receive. Judgment, like other faculties, is improved by practice, and its advancement is hindered by ſubmiſſion to dictatorial deciſions, as the memory grows torpid by the uſe of a table-book. Some initiation is however neceſſary; of all ſkill, part is infuſed by precept, and part is obtained by habit; I have therefore ſhewn ſo much as may enable the candidate of criticiſm to diſcover the reſt.

To the end of moſt plays I have added ſhort ſtrictures, containing a general cenſure of faults, or praiſe of excellence; in which I know not how much I have concurred with the current opinion; but I have not, by any affectation of ſingularity, deviated from it. Nothing is minutely and particularly examined, and therefore it is to be ſuppoſed, that in the plays which are condemned there is much to be praiſed, and in thoſe which are praiſed much to be condemned.

The part of criticiſm in which the whole ſucceſſion of editors has laboured with the greateſt diligence, which has occaſioned the moſt arrogant oſtentation, and excited the keeneſt acrimony, is the emendation of corrupted paſſages, to which the publick attention having been firſt drawn by the violence of the contention between *Pope* and *Theobald*, has been continued by the perſecution, which,

Digitized by Google

with a kind of conſpiracy, has been ſince raiſed againſt all the publiſhers of *Shakeſpeare.*

That many paſſages have paſſed in a ſtate of depravation through all the editions, is indubitably certain; of theſe the reſtoration is only to be attempted by collation of copies, or ſagacity of conjecture. The collator's province is ſafe and eaſy, the conjecturer's perilous and difficult. Yet as the greater part of the plays are extant only in one copy, the peril muſt not be avoided, nor the difficulty refuſed.

Of the readings which this emulation of amendment has hitherto produced, ſome from the labours of every publiſher I have advanced into the text; thoſe are to be conſidered as in my opinion ſufficiently ſupported; ſome I have rejected without mention, as evidently erroneous; ſome I have left in the notes without cenſure or approbation, as reſting in equipoiſe between objection and defence; and ſome, which ſeemed ſpecious but not right, I have inſerted with a ſubſequent animadverſion.

Having claſſed the obſervations of others, I was at laſt to try what I could ſubſtitute for their miſtakes, and how I could ſupply their omiſſions. I collated ſuch copies as I could procure, and wiſhed for more, but have not found the collectors of theſe rarities very communicative. Of the editions which chance or kindneſs put into my hands I have given an enumeration, that I may not be blamed for neglecting what I had not the power to do.

By examining the old copies, I ſoon found that the later publiſhers, with all their boaſts of diligence, ſuffered

Digitized by Google

ſuffered many paſſages to ſtand unauthoriſed, and contented themſelves with *Rowe*'s regulation of the text, even where they knew it to be arbitrary, and with a little conſideration might have found it to be wrong. Some of theſe alterations are only the ejection of a word for one that appeared to him more elegant or more intelligible. Theſe corruptions I have often ſilently rectified; for the hiſtory of our language, and the true force of our words, can only be preſerved, by keeping the text of authors free from adulteration. Others, and thoſe very frequent, ſmoothed the cadence, or regulated the meaſure: on theſe I have not exerciſed the ſame rigour; if only a word was tranſpoſed, or a particle inſerted or omitted, I have ſometimes ſuffered the line to ſtand; for the inconſtancy of the copies is ſuch, as that ſome liberties may be eaſily permitted. But this practice I have not ſuffered to proceed far, having reſtored the primitive diction wherever it could for any reaſon be preferred.

The emendations, which compariſon of copies ſupplied, I have inſerted in the text: ſometimes, where the improvement was ſlight, without notice, and ſometimes with an account of the reaſons of the change.

Conjecture, though it be ſometimes unavoidable, I have not wantonly nor licentiouſly indulged. It has been my ſettled principle, that the reading of the ancient books is probably true, and therefore is not to be diſturbed for the ſake of elegance, perſpicuity, or mere improvement of the ſenſe. For though much credit is not due to the fidelity, nor any to the judgment of the firſt publiſhers, yet they who had the

Digitized by Google

copy before their eyes were more likely to read it right, than we who read it only by imagination. But it is evident that they have often made ſtrange miſtakes by ignorance or negligence, and that therefore ſomething may be properly attempted by criticiſm, keeping the middle way between preſumption and timidity.

Such criticiſm I have attempted to practiſe, and, where any paſſage appeared inextricably perplexed, have endeavoured to diſcover how it may be recalled to ſenſe, with leaſt violence. But my firſt labour is, always to turn the old text on every ſide, and try if there be any interſtice, through which light can find its way; nor would *Huetius* himſelf condemn me, as refuſing the trouble of reſearch, for the ambition of alteration. In this modeſt induſtry I have not been unſucceſsful. I have reſcued many lines from the violations of temerity, and ſecured many ſcenes from the inroads of correction. I have adopted the *Roman* ſentiment, that it is more honourable to ſave a citizen, than to kill an enemy, and have been more careful to protect than to attack.

I have preſerved the common diſtribution of the plays into acts, though I believe it to be in almoſt all the plays void of authority. Some of thoſe which are divided in the later editions have no diviſion in the firſt folio, and ſome that are divided in the folio have no diviſion in the preceding copies. The ſettled mode of the theatre requires four intervals in the play; but few, if any, of our author's compoſitions can be properly diſtributed in that manner. An act is ſo much of the drama as paſſes without interven-

tion

Digitized by Google

tion of time, or change of place. A pauſe makes a new act. In every real, and therefore in every imitative action, the intervals may be more or fewer, the reſtriction of five acts being accidental and arbitrary. This *Shakeſpeare* knew, and this he practiſed; his plays were written, and at firſt printed in one unbroken continuity, and ought now to be exhibited with ſhort pauſes, interpoſed as often as the ſcene is changed, or any conſiderable time is required to paſs. This method would at once quell a thouſand abſurdities.

In reſtoring the author's works to their integrity, I have conſidered the punctuation as wholly in my power; for what could be their care of colons and commas, who corrupted words and ſentences? Whatever could be done by adjuſting points, is therefore ſilently performed, in ſome plays with much diligence, in others with leſs; it is hard to keep a buſy eye ſteadily fixed upon evaneſcent atoms, or a diſcurſive mind upon evaneſcent truth.

The ſame liberty has been taken with a few particles, or other words of ſlight effect. I have ſometimes inſerted or omitted them without notice. I have done that ſometimes, which the other editors have done always, and which indeed the ſtate of the text may ſufficiently juſtify.

The greater part of readers, inſtead of blaming us for paſſing trifles, will wonder that on mere trifles ſo much labour is expended, with ſuch importance of debate, and ſuch ſolemnity of diction. To theſe I anſwer with confidence, that they are judging of an art which they do not underſtand; yet cannot much reproach them with their ignorance, nor promiſe that

Digitized by Google

they would become in general, by learning criticiſm, more uſeful, happier, or wiſer.

As I practiſed conjecture more, I learned to truſt it leſs; and after I had printed a few plays, reſolved to inſert none of my own readings in the text. Upon this caution I now congratulate myſelf, for every day encreaſes my doubt of my emendations.

Since I have confined my imagination to the margin, it muſt not be conſidered as very reprehenſible, if I have ſuffered it to play ſome freaks in its own dominion. There is no danger in conjecture, if it be propoſed as conjecture; and while the text remains uninjured, thoſe changes may be ſafely offered, which are not conſidered even by him that offers them as neceſſary or ſafe.

If my readings are of little value, they have not been oſtentatiouſly diſplayed or importunately obtruded. I could have written longer notes, for the art of writing notes is not of difficult attainment. The work is performed, firſt by railing at the ſtupidity, negligence, ignorance, and aſinine taſteleſſneſs of the former editors, and ſhewing, from all that goes before and all that follows, the inelegance and abſurdity of the old reading; then by propoſing ſomething, which to ſuperficial readers would ſeem ſpecious, but which the editor rejects with indignation; then by producing the true reading, with a long paraphraſe, and concluding with loud acclamations on the diſcovery, and a ſober wiſh for the advancement and proſperity of genuine criticiſm.

All this may be done, and perhaps done ſometimes without impropriety. But I have always ſuſpected

that

Digitized by Google

that the reading is right, which requires many words to prove it wrong; and the emendation wrong, that cannot without ſo much labour appear to be right. The juſtneſs of a happy reſtoration ſtrikes at once, and the moral precept may be well applied to criticiſm, *quod dubitas ne feceris.*

To dread the ſhore which he ſees ſpread with wrecks, is natural to the ſailor. I had before my eye ſo many critical adventures ended in miſcarriage, that caution was forced upon me. I encountered in every page wit ſtruggling with its own ſophiſtry, and learning confuſed by the multiplicity of its views. I was forced to cenſure thoſe whom I admired, and could not but reflect, while I was diſpoſſeſſing their emendations, how ſoon the ſame fate might happen to my own, and how many of the readings which I have corrected may be by ſome other editor defended and eſtabliſhed.

> Criticks I ſaw, that others' names efface,
> And fix their own, with labour, in the place;
> Their own, like others, ſoon their place reſign'd,
> Or diſappear'd, and left the firſt behind. POPE.

That a conjectural critick ſhould often be miſtaken, cannot be wonderful, either to others or himſelf, if it be conſidered, that in his art there is no ſyſtem, no principal and axiomatical truth that regulates ſubordinate poſitions. His chance of error is renewed at every attempt; an oblique view of the paſſage, a ſlight miſapprehenſion of a phraſe, a caſual inattention to the parts connected, is ſufficient to make him not only fail, but fail ridiculouſly; and when he ſucceeds beſt, he produces perhaps but one reading of many proba-

Digitized by Google

ble, and he that ſuggeſts another will always be able to diſpute his claims.

It is an unhappy ſtate, in which danger is hid under pleaſure. The allurements of emendation are ſcarcely reſiſtible. Conjecture has all the joy and all the pride of invention, and he that has once ſtarted a happy change, is too much delighted to conſider what objections may riſe againſt it.

Yet conjectural criticiſm has been of great uſe in the learned world; nor is it my intention to depreciate a ſtudy, that has exerciſed ſo many mighty minds, from the revival of learning to our own age, from the biſhop of *Aleria* to *Engliſh Bentley*. The criticks on ancient authors have, in the exerciſe of their ſagacity, many aſſiſtances, which the editor of *Shakeſpeare* is condemned to want. They are employed upon grammatical and ſettled languages, whoſe conſtruction contributes ſo much to perſpicuity, that *Homer* has fewer paſſages unintelligible than *Chaucer*. The words have not only a known regimen, but invariable quantities, which direct and confine the choice. There are commonly more manuſcripts than one; and they do not often conſpire in the ſame miſtakes. Yet *Scaliger* could confeſs to *Salmaſius* how little ſatisfaction his emendations gave him. *Illudunt nobis conjecturæ noſtræ, quarum nos pudet, poſteaquam in meliores codices incidimus.* And *Lipſius* could complain, that criticks were making faults by trying to remove them, *Ut olim vitiis, ita nunc remediis laboratur.* And, indeed, where mere conjecture is to be uſed, the emendations of *Scaliger* and *Lipſius*, notwithſtanding their wonderful ſagacity and erudition, are often vague and diſputable, like mine or *Theobald's*.

Perhaps

Digitized by Google

Perhaps I may not be more cenſured for doing wrong, than for doing little; for raiſing in the publick, expectations which at laſt I have not anſwered. The expectation of ignorance is indefinite, and that of knowledge is often tyrannical. It is hard to ſatisfy thoſe who know not what to demand, or thoſe who demand by deſign what they think impoſſible to be done. I have indeed diſappointed no opinion more than my own; yet I have endeavoured to perform my taſk with no ſlight ſolicitude. Not a ſingle paſſage in the whole work has appeared to me corrupt, which I have not attempted to reſtore; or obſcure, which I have not endeavoured to illuſtrate. In many I have failed, like others; and from many, after all my efforts, I have retreated, and confeſſed the repulſe. I have not paſſed over with affected ſuperiority, what is equally difficult to the reader and to myſelf, but, where I could not inſtruct him, have owned my ignorance. I might eaſily have accumulated a maſs of ſeeming learning upon eaſy ſcenes; but it ought not to be imputed to negligence, that, where nothing was neceſſary, nothing has been done, or that, where others have ſaid enough, I have ſaid no more.

Notes are often neceſſary, but they are neceſſary evils. Let him, that is yet unacquainted with the powers of *Shakeſpeare*, and who deſires to feel the higheſt pleaſure that the drama can give, read every play, from the firſt ſcene to the laſt, with utter negligence of all his commentators. When his fancy is once on the wing, let it not ſtoop at correction or explanation. When his attention is ſtrongly engaged, let

Digitized by Google

let it disdain alike to turn aside to the name of *Theobald* and of *Pope*. Let him read on through brightness and obscurity, through integrity and corruption; let him preserve his comprehension of the dialogue and his interest in the fable. And when the pleasures of novelty have ceased, let him attempt exactness, and read the commentators.

Particular passages are cleared by notes, but the general effect of the work is weakened. The mind is refrigerated by interruption; the thoughts are diverted from the principal subject; the reader is weary, he suspects not why; and at last throws away the book which he has too diligently studied.

Parts are not to be examined till the whole has been surveyed; there is a kind of intellectual remoteness necessary for the comprehension of any great work in its full design and in its true proportions; a close approach shews the smaller niceties, but the beauty of the whole is discerned no longer.

It is not very grateful to consider how little the succession of editors has added to this author's power of pleasing. He was read, admired, studied, and imitated, while he was yet deformed with all the improprieties which ignorance and neglect could accumulate upon him; while the reading was yet not rectified, nor his allusions understood; yet then did *Dryden* pronounce, that *Shakespeare* was the "man, "who, of all modern and perhaps ancient poets, had "the largest and most comprehensive soul. All the "images of nature were still present to him, and he "drew them not laboriously, but luckily: when he "describes any thing, you more than see it, you feel "it

Digitized by Google

" it too. Thoſe, who accuſe him to have wanted
" learning, give him the greater commendation: he
" was naturally learned: he needed not the ſpecta-
" cles of books to read nature; he looked inwards,
" and found her there. I cannot ſay he is every
" where alike; were he ſo I ſhould do him injury to
" compare him with the greateſt of mankind. He
" is many times flat and inſipid; his comick wit de-
" generating into clenches, his ſerious ſwelling into
" bombaſt. But he is always great when ſome great
" occaſion is preſented to him: no man can ſay, he
" ever had a fit ſubject for his wit, and did not then
" raiſe himſelf as high above the reſt of poets,

" *Quantum lenta ſolent inter viburna cupreſſi.*"

It is to be lamented, that ſuch a writer ſhould want a commentary; that his language ſhould become obſolete, or his ſentiments obſcure. But it is vain to carry wiſhes beyond the condition of human things; that which muſt happen to all, has happened to *Shakeſpeare*, by accident and time; and more than has been ſuffered by any other writer ſince the uſe of types, has been ſuffered by him through his own negligence of fame, or perhaps by that ſuperiority of mind, which deſpiſed, its own performances, when it compared them with its powers, and judged thoſe works unworthy to be preſerved, which the criticks of following ages were to contend for the fame of reſtoring and explaining.

Among theſe candidates of inferior fame, I am now to ſtand the judgment of the Publick; and wiſh that I could

Digitized by Google

I could confidently produce my commentary as equal to the encouragement which I have had the honour of receiving. Every work of this kind is by its nature deficient, and I ſhould feel little ſolicitude about the ſentence, were it to be pronounced only by the ſkilful and the learned.

Digitized by Google

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

PLAYS OF SHAKESPEARE.

TEMPEST.

IT is obſerved of *The Tempeſt*, that its plan is regular; this the author of *The Reviſal** thinks, what I think too, an accidental effect of the ſtory, not intended or regarded by our author. But whatever might be *Shakeſpear*'s intention in forming or adopting the plot, he has made it inſtrumental to the production of many characters diverſified with boundleſs invention, and preſerved with profound ſkill in nature, extenſive knowledge of opinions, and accurate obſervation of life. In a ſingle drama are here exhibited princes, courtiers, and ſailors, all ſpeaking in their real characters. There is the agency of airy ſpirits, and of an earthly goblin; the operations of magick, the tumults of a ſtorm, the adventures of a deſart iſland, the native effuſion of untaught affection, the puniſhment of guilt, and the final happineſs of the pair for whom our paſſions and reaſon are equally intereſted.

* Mr. *Heath*, who wrote a reviſal of *Shakeſpeare*'s text, publiſhed in 8vo. circa 1760.

Digitized by Google

TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA.

In this play there is a ſtrange mixture of knowledge and ignorance, of care and negligence. The verſification is often excellent, the alluſions are learned and juſt; but the author conveys his heroes by ſea from one inland town to another in the ſame country; he places the emperor at *Milan*, and ſends his young men to attend him, but never mentions him more; he makes *Protheus*, after an interview with *Silvia*, ſay he has only ſeen her picture; and, if we may credit the old copies, he has, by miſtaking places, left his ſcenery inextricable. The reaſon of all this confuſion ſeems to be that he took his ſtory from a novel, which he ſometimes followed, and ſometimes forſook, ſometimes remembered, and ſometimes forgot.

That this play is rightly attributed to *Shakeſpeare*, I have little doubt. If it be taken from him, to whom ſhall it be given? This queſtion may be aſked of all the diſputed plays, except *Titus Andronicus*; and it will be found more credible, that *Shakeſpeare* might ſometimes ſink below his higheſt flights, than that any other ſhould riſe up to his loweſt.

MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

Of this play there is a tradition preſerved by Mr. *Rowe*, that it was written at the command of queen *Elizabeth*, who was ſo delighted with the character of *Falſtaff*, that ſhe wiſhed it to be diffuſed through more plays; but ſuſpecting that it might pall by

continued

Digitized by Google

continued uniformity, directed the poet to diverſify his manner, by ſhewing him in love. No taſk is harder than that of writing to the ideas of another. *Shakeſpeare* knew what the queen, if the ſtory be true, ſeems not to have known, that by any real paſſion of tenderneſs, the ſelfiſh craft, the careleſs jollity, and the lazy luxury of *Falſtaff* muſt have ſuffered ſo much abatement, that little of his former caſt would have remained. *Falſtaff* could not love, but by ceaſing to be *Falſtaff*. He could only counterfeit love, and his profeſſions could be prompted, not by the hope of pleaſure, but of money. Thus the poet approached as near as he could to the work enjoined him; yet having perhaps in the former plays completed his own idea, ſeems not to have been able to give *Falſtaff* all his former power of entertainment.

This comedy is remarkable for the variety and number of the perſonages, who exhibit more characters appropriated and diſcriminated, than perhaps can be found in any other play.

Whether *Shakeſpeare* was the firſt that produced upon the *Engliſh* ſtage the effect of language diſtorted and depraved by provincial or foreign pronunciation, I cannot certainly decide. This mode of forming ridiculous characters can confer praiſe only on him, who originally diſcovered it, for it requires not much of either wit or judgment: its ſucceſs muſt be derived almoſt wholly from the player, but its power in a ſkilful mouth, even he that deſpiſes it, is unable to reſiſt.

The conduct of this drama is deficient; the action begins and ends often before the concluſion, and the different parts might change places without inconvenience;

Digitized by Google

venience; but its general power, that power by which all works of genius ſhall finally be tried, is ſuch, that perhaps it never yet had reader or ſpectator, who did not think it too ſoon at an end.

MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

There is perhaps not one of *Shakeſpeare*'s plays more darkened than this, by the peculiarities of its author, and the unſkilfulneſs of its editors, by diſtortions of phraſe, or negligence of tranſcription.

The novel of *Giraldi Cynthio*, from which *Shakeſpeare* is ſuppoſed to have borrowed this fable, may be read in *Shakeſpeare illuſtrated*, elegantly tranſlated, with remarks, which will aſſiſt the enquirer to diſcover how much abſurdity *Shakeſpeare* has admitted or avoided.

I cannot but ſuſpect that ſome other had new-modelled the novel of *Cynthio*, or written a ſtory which in ſome particulars reſembled it, and that *Cynthio* was not the author whom *Shakeſpeare* immediately followed. The emperor in *Cynthio* is named *Maximine*; the duke, in *Shakeſpeare*'s enumeration of the perſons of the drama, is called *Vincentio*. This appears a very ſlight remark; but ſince the duke has no name in the play, nor is ever mentioned but by his title, why ſhould he be called *Vincentio* among the *perſons*, but becauſe the name was copied from the ſtory, and placed ſuperfluouſly at the head of the liſt by the mere habit of tranſcription? It is therefore likely that there was then a ſtory of *Vincentio* duke of *Vienna*, different from that of *Maximine* emperor of the Romans.

Of

Digitized by Google

Of this play the light or comick part is very natural and pleaſing, but the grave ſcenes, if a few paſſages be excepted, have more labour than elegance. The plot is rather intricate than artful. The time of the action is indefinite; ſome time, we know not how much, muſt have elapſed between the receſs of the duke and the impriſonment of *Claudio*; for he muſt have learned the ſtory of *Mariana* in his diſguiſe, or he delegated his power to a man already known to be corrupted. The unities of action and place are ſufficiently preſerved.

LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST.

In this play, which all the editors have concurred to cenſure, and ſome have rejected as unworthy of our poet, it muſt be confeſſed that there are many paſſages mean, childiſh, and vulgar; and ſome which ought not to have been exhibited, as we are told they were, to a maiden queen. But there are ſcattered through the whole many ſparks of genius; nor is there any play that has more evident marks of the hand of *Shakeſpeare*.

MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM.

Wild and fantaſtical as this play is, all the parts in their various modes are well written, and give the kind of pleaſure which the author deſigned. Fairies in his time were much in faſhion; common tradition had made them familiar, and *Spenſer*'s poem had made them great.

Digitized by Google

MERCHANT OF VENICE.

It has been lately diſcovered, that this fable is taken from a ſtory in the *Pecorone* of *Giovanni Fiorentino*, a noveliſt, who wrote in 1378. The ſtory has been publiſhed in *Engliſh*, and I have epitomized the tranſlation. The tranſlator is of opinion, that the choice of the caſkets is borrowed from a tale of *Boccace*, which I have likewiſe abridged, though I believe that *Shakeſpeare* muſt have had ſome other novel in view.

Of the MERCHANT OF VENICE the ſtyle is even and eaſy, with few peculiarities of diction, or anomalies of conſtruction. The comick part raiſes laughter, and the ſerious fixes expectation. The probability of either one or the other ſtory cannot be maintained. The union of two actions in one event is in this drama eminently happy. *Dryden* was much pleaſed with his own addreſs in connecting the two plots of his *Spaniſh Friar*, which yet, I believe, the critick will find excelled by this play.

AS YOU LIKE IT.

Of this play the fable is wild and pleaſing. I know not how the ladies will approve the facility with which both *Roſalind* and *Celia* give away their hearts. To *Celia* much may be forgiven for the heroiſm of her friendſhip. The character of *Jaques* is natural and well preſerved. The comick dialogue is very ſprightly, with leſs mixture of low buffoonery than in ſome other plays: and the graver part is elegant and harmonious. By haſtening to the end of his work, *Shakeſpeare* ſuppreſſed the dialogue

Digitized by Google

between the uſurper and the hermit, and loſt an opportunity of exhibiting a moral leſſon in which he might have found matter worthy of his higheſt powers.

TAMING OF THE SHREW.

Of this play the two plots are ſo well united, that they can hardly be called two without injury to the art with which they are interwoven. The attention is entertained with all the variety of a double plot, yet is not diſtracted by unconnected incidents.

The part between *Katharine* and *Petruchio* is eminently ſprightly and diverting. At the marriage of *Bianca* the arrival of the real father, perhaps, produces more perplexity than pleaſure. The whole play is very popular and diverting.

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

This play has many delightful ſcenes, though not ſufficiently probable, and ſome happy characters, though not new, nor produced by any deep knowledge of human nature. *Parolles* is a boaſter and a coward, ſuch as has always been the ſport of the ſtage, but perhaps never raiſed more laughter or contempt than in the hands of *Shakeſpeare*.

I cannot reconcile my heart to *Bertram*; a man noble without generoſity, and young without truth; who marries *Helen* as a coward, and leaves her as a profligate: when ſhe is dead by his unkindneſs, ſneaks home to a ſecond marriage, is accuſed by a

Digitized by Google

woman whom he has wronged, defends himſelf by falſehood, and is diſmiſſed to happineſs.

The ſtory of *Bertram* and *Diana* had been told before of *Mariana* and *Angelo*, and, to confeſs the truth, ſcarcely merited to be heard a ſecond time.

TWELFTH-NIGHT.

This play is in the graver part elegant and eaſy, and in ſome of the lighter ſcenes exquiſitely humourous. *Ague-cheek* is drawn with great propriety, but his character is, in a great meaſure, that of natural fatuity, and is therefore not the proper prey of a ſatiriſt. The ſoliloquy of *Malvolio* is truly comick; he is betrayed to ridicule merely by his pride. The marriage of *Olivia*, and the ſucceeding perplexity, though well enough contrived to divert on the ſtage, wants credibility, and fails to produce the proper inſtruction required in the drama, as it exhibits no juſt picture of life.

WINTER'S TALE.

The ſtory of this play is taken from the pleaſant *Hiſtory of Doraſtus and Fawnia*, written by *Robert Greene*.

This play, as Dr. *Warburton* juſtly obſerves, is, with all its abſurdities, very entertaining. The character of *Autolycus* is very naturally conceived, and ſtrongly repreſented.

MACKBETH.

This play is deſervedly celebrated for the propriety of its fictions, and ſolemnity, grandeur, and variety of its action, but it has no nice diſcriminations of character;

Digitized by Google

character; the events are too great to admit the influence of particular diſpoſitions, and the courſe of the action neceſſarily determines the conduct of the agents.

The danger of ambition is well deſcribed; and I know not whether it may not be ſaid, in defence of ſome parts which now ſeem improbable, that, in *Shakeſpeare*'s time it was neceſſary to warn credulity againſt vain and illuſive predictions.

The paſſions are directed to their true end. *Lady Macbeth* is merely deteſted; and though the courage of *Macbeth* preſerves ſome eſteem, yet every reader rejoices at his fall.

KING JOHN.

The tragedy of *King John*, though not written with the utmoſt power of *Shakeſpeare*, is varied with a very pleaſing interchange of incidents and characters. The lady's grief is very affecting; and the character of the baſtard contains that mixture of greatneſs and levity which this author delighted to exhibit.

KING RICHARD II.

This play is extracted from the *Chronicle of Holingſhed*, in which many paſſages may be found which *Shakeſpeare* has, with very little alteration, tranſplanted into his ſcenes; particularly a ſpeech of the biſhop of *Carliſle* in defence of king *Richard*'s unalienable right, and immunity from human juriſdiction.

Jonſon who, in his *Catiline* and *Sejanus*, has inſerted many ſpeeches from the *Roman* hiſtorians, was

Digitized by Google

perhaps induced to that practice by the example of *Shakeſpeare*, who had condeſcended ſometimes to copy more ignoble writers. But *Shakeſpeare* had more of his own than *Jonſon*, and if he ſometimes was willing to ſpare his labour, ſhewed by what he performed at other times, that his extracts were made by choice or idleneſs rather than neceſſity.

This play is one of thoſe which *Shakeſpeare* has apparently reviſed; but as ſucceſs in works of invention is not always proportionate to labour, it is not finiſhed at laſt with the happy force of ſome other of his tragedies, nor can be ſaid much to affect the paſſions, or enlarge the underſtanding.

KING HENRY IV. PART II.

I fancy every reader, when he ends this play, cries out with *Deſdemona*, "O moſt lame and impotent "concluſion!" As this play was not, to our knowledge, divided into acts by the author, I could be content to conclude it with the death of *Henry the Fourth*.

In that Jeruſalem ſhall Harry die.

Theſe ſcenes, which now make the fifth act of *Henry the Fourth*, might then be the firſt of *Henry the Fifth*; but the truth is, that they do unite very commodiouſly to either play. When theſe plays were repreſented, I believe they ended as they are now ended in the books; but *Shakeſpeare* ſeems to have deſigned that the whole ſeries of action from the beginning of *Richard the Second*, to the end of *Henry the Fifth*, ſhould be conſidered by the reader as one work, upon

Digitized by Google

upon one plan, only broken into parts by the neceſſity of exhibition.

None of *Shakeſpeare*'s plays are more read than the *Firſt and Second Parts of Henry the Fourth.* Perhaps no author has ever in two plays afforded ſo much delight. The great events are intereſting, for the fate of kingdoms depends upon them; the ſlighter occurrences are diverting, and, except one or two, ſufficiently probable; the incidents are multiplied with wonderful fertility of invention, and the characters diverſified with the utmoſt nicety of diſcernment, and the profoundeſt ſkill in the nature of man.

The prince, who is the hero both of the comick and tragick part, is a young man of great abilities and violent paſſions, whoſe ſentiments are right, though his actions are wrong; whoſe virtues are obſcured by negligence, and whoſe underſtanding is diſſipated by levity. In his idle hours he is rather looſe than wicked; and when the occaſion forces out his latent qualities, he is great without effort, and brave without tumult. The trifler is rouſed into a hero, and the hero again repoſes in the trifler. This character is great, original, and juſt.

Percy is a rugged ſoldier, cholerick, and quarrelſome, and has only the ſoldier's virtues, generoſity and courage.

But *Falſtaff*, unimitated, unimitable *Falſtaff*, how ſhall I deſcribe thee? Thou compound of ſenſe and vice; of ſenſe which may be admired, but not eſteemed; of vice which may be deſpiſed, but hardly deteſted. *Falſtaff* is a character loaded with faults, and with thoſe faults which naturally produce contempt. He is a thief and a glutton, a coward

Digitized by Google

and a boaſter, always ready to cheat the weak, and prey upon the poor; to terrify the timorous, and inſult the defenceleſs. At once obſequious and malignant, he ſatirizes in their abſence thoſe whom he lives by flattering. He is familiar with the prince only as an agent of vice, but of this familiarity he is ſo proud, as not only to be ſupercilious and haughty with common men, but to think his intereſt of importance to the duke of *Lancaſter*. Yet the man thus corrupt, thus deſpicable, makes himſelf neceſſary to the prince that deſpiſes him, by the moſt pleaſing of all qualities, perpetual gaiety, by an unfailing power of exciting laughter, which is the more freely indulged, as his wit is not of the ſplendid or ambitious kind, but conſiſts in eaſy ſcapes and ſallies of levity, which make ſport, but raiſe no envy. It muſt be obſerved, that he is ſtained with no enormous or ſanguinary crimes, ſo that his licentiouſneſs is not ſo offenſive but that it may be borne for his mirth.

The moral to be drawn from this repreſentation is, that no man is more dangerous than he that, with a will to corrupt, hath the power to pleaſe; and that neither wit nor honeſty ought to think themſelves ſafe with ſuch a companion, when they ſee *Henry* ſeduced by *Falſtaff*.

KING HENRY V.

This play has many ſcenes of high dignity, and many of eaſy merriment. The character of the king is well ſupported, except in his courtſhip, where he has neither the vivacity of *Hal*, nor the grandeur of *Henry*. The humour of *Piſtol* is very happily continued;

Digitized by Google

nued: his character has perhaps been the model of all the bullies that have yet appeared on the *Engliſh* ſtage.

The lines given to the Chorus have many admirers; but the truth is, that in them a little may be praiſed, and much muſt be forgiven: nor can it be eaſily diſcovered why the intelligence given by the Chorus is more neceſſary in this play than in many others where it is omitted. The great defect of this play is the emptineſs and narrowneſs of the laſt act, which a very little diligence might have eaſily avoided.

KING HENRY VI. PART I.

Of this play there is no copy earlier than that of the folio in 1623, though the two ſucceeding parts are extant in two editions in quarto. That the ſecond and third parts were publiſhed without the firſt, may be admitted as no weak proof that the copies were ſurreptitiouſly obtained, and that the printers of that time gave the publick thoſe plays, not ſuch as the author deſigned, but ſuch as they could get them. That this play was written before the two others is indubitably collected from the ſeries of events; that it was written and played before Henry the Fifth is apparent, becauſe in the epilogue there is mention made of this play, and not of the other parts:

> Henry the ſixth in ſwaddling bands crown'd king,
> Whoſe ſtate ſo many had the managing
> That they loſt France, and made his England bleed,
> Which oft our ſtage hath ſhewn.

France

Digitized by Google

France is loſt in this play. The two following contain, as the old title imports, the contention of the houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

The ſecond and third parts of *Henry* VI. were printed in 1600 When *Henry* V. was written, we know not, but it was printed likewiſe in 1600, and therefore before the publication of the firſt part; the firſt part of *Henry* VI. had been often ſhewn on the ſtage, and would certainly have appeared in its place had the author been the publiſher.

KING HENRY VI. PART III.

The three parts of *Henry* VI. are ſuſpected, by Mr. *Theobald*, of being ſuppoſititious, and are declared, by Dr. *Warburton*, to be certainly not *Shakeſpeare*'s. Mr. *Theobald*'s ſuſpicion ariſes from ſome obſolete words; but the phraſeology is like the reſt of our author's ſtyle, and ſingle words, of which however I do not obſerve more than two, can conclude little.

Dr. *Warburton* gives no reaſon, but I ſuppoſe him to judge upon deeper principles and more comprehenſive views, and to draw his opinion from the general effect and ſpirit of the compoſition, which he thinks inferior to the other hiſtorical plays.

From mere inferiority nothing can be inferred; in the productions of wit there will be inequality. Sometimes judgment will err, and ſometimes the matter itſelf will defeat the artiſt. Of every author's works one will be the beſt, and one will be the worſt. The colours are not equally pleaſing, nor the attitudes equally graceful, in all the pictures of *Titian* or *Reynolds*.

Diſſimilitude

Digitized by Google

Diſſimilitude of ſtyle, and heterogeneouſneſs of ſentiment, may ſufficiently ſhow that a work does not really belong to the reputed author. But in theſe plays no ſuch marks of ſpuriouſneſs are found. The diction, the verſification, and the figures, are *Shakeſpeare's*. Theſe plays, conſidered, without regard to characters and incidents, merely as narratives in verſe, are more happily conceived, and more accurately finiſhed than thoſe of *King John*, *Richard* II. or the tragick ſcenes of *Henry* IV. and V. If we take theſe plays from *Shakeſpeare*, to whom ſhall they be given? What author of that age had the ſame eaſineſs of expreſſion and fluency of numbers?

Having conſidered the evidence given by the plays themſelves, and found it in their favour, let us now enquire what corroboration can be gained from other teſtimony. They are aſcribed to *Shakeſpeare* by the firſt editors, whoſe atteſtation may be received in queſtions of fact, however unſkilfully they ſuperintended their edition. They ſeem to be declared genuine by the voice of *Shakeſpeare* himſelf, who refers to the ſecond play in his epilogue to *Henry* V. and apparently connects the firſt act of *Richard* III. with the laſt of the third part of *Henry* VI. If it be objected that the plays were popular, and that therefore he alluded to them as well known; it may be anſwered, with equal probability, that the natural paſſions of a poet would have diſpoſed him to ſeparate his own works from thoſe of an inferior hand. And, indeed, if an author's own teſtimony is to be overthrown by ſpeculative criticiſm,

Digitized by Google

criticiſm, no man can be any longer ſecure of literary reputation.

Of theſe three plays I think the ſecond the beſt. The truth is, that they have not ſufficient variety of action, for the incidents are too often of the ſame kind; yet many of the characters are well diſcriminated. King *Henry* and his queen, king *Edward*, the duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, are very ſtrongly and diſtinctly painted.

The old copies of the two latter parts of *Henry* VI. and of *Henry* V. are ſo apparently imperfect and mutilated, that there is no reaſon for ſuppoſing them the firſt draughts of *Shakeſpeare*. I am inclined to believe them copies taken by ſome auditor who wrote down, during the repreſentation, what the time would permit, then perhaps filled up ſome of his omiſſions at a ſecond or third hearing, and when he had by this method formed ſomething like a play, ſent it to the printer.

KING RICHARD III.

This is one of the moſt celebrated of our author's performances; yet I know not whether it has not happened to him as to others, to be praiſed moſt, when praiſe is not moſt deſerved. That this play has ſcenes noble in themſelves, and very well contrived to ſtrike in the exhibition, cannot be denied. But ſome parts are trifling, others ſhocking, and ſome improbable.

I have nothing to add to the obſervations of the learned criticks, but that ſome traces of this antiquated exhibition are ſtill retained in the ruſtick puppet-

Digitized by Google

pet plays, in which I have ſeen the Devil very luſtily belaboured by Punch, whom I hold to be the legitimate ſucceſſor of the old Vice.

KING HENRY VIII.

The play of *Henry the Eighth* is one of thoſe which ſtill keeps poſſeſſion of the ſtage by the ſplendor of its pageantry. The coronation about forty years ago, drew the people together in multitudes for a great part of the winter. Yet pomp is not the only merit of this play. The meek ſorrows and virtuous diſtreſs of *Katharine* have furniſhed ſome ſcenes, which may be juſtly numbered among the greateſt efforts of tragedy. But the genius of *Shakeſpeare* comes in and goes out with *Katharine*. Every other part may be eaſily conceived, and eaſily written.

The hiſtorical dramas are now concluded, of which the two parts of *Henry the Fourth*, and *Henry the Fifth*, are among the happieſt of our author's compoſitions; and *King John*, *Richard the Third*, and *Henry the Eighth*, deſervedly ſtand in the ſecond claſs. Thoſe whoſe curioſity would refer the hiſtorical ſcenes to their original, may conſult *Holingshed*, and ſometimes *Hall*: from *Holingshed*, *Shakeſpeare* has often inſerted whole ſpeeches with no more alteration than was neceſſary to the numbers of his verſe. To tranſcribe them into the margin was unneceſſary, becauſe the original is eaſily examined, and they are ſeldom leſs perſpicuous in the poet than in the hiſtorian.

To play hiſtories, or to exhibit a ſucceſſion of events by action and dialogue, was a common entertainment

Digitized by Google

tertainment among our rude anceſtors upon great feſtivities. The pariſh clerks once performed at *Clerkenwell* a play which laſted three days, containing *The Hiſtory of the World.*

CORIOLANUS.

The tragedy of *Coriolanus* is one of the moſt amuſing of our author's performances. The old man's merriment in *Menenius*; the lofty lady's dignity in *Volumnia*; the bridal modeſty in *Virgilia*; the patrician and military haughtineſs in *Coriolanus*; the plebeian malignity, and tribunitian inſolence in *Brutus* and *Sicinius*, make a very pleaſing and intereſting variety: and the various revolutions of the hero's fortune fill the mind with anxious curioſity. There is, perhaps, too much buſtle in the firſt act, and too little in the laſt.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

Of this tragedy many particular paſſages deſerve regard, and the contention and reconcilement of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* is univerſally celebrated; but I have never been ſtrongly agitated in peruſing it, and think it ſomewhat cold and unaffecting, compared with ſome other of *Shakeſpeare*'s plays; his adherence to the real ſtory, and to *Roman* manners, ſeems to have impeded the natural vigour of his genius.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

This play keeps curioſity always buſy, and the paſſions always intereſted. The continual hurry of the action, the variety of incidents, and the quick ſucceſſion

Digitized by Google

ſucceſſion of one perſonage to another, call the mind forward without intermiſſion from the firſt act to the laſt. But the power of delighting is derived principally from the frequent changes of the ſcene; for except the feminine arts, ſome of which are too low, which diſtinguiſh *Cleopatra*, no character is very ſtrongly diſcriminated. *Upton*, who did not eaſily miſs what he deſired to find, has diſcovered that the language of *Antony* is, with great ſkill and learning, made pompous and ſuperb, according to his real practice. But I think his diction not diſtinguiſhable from that of others: the moſt timid ſpeech in the play is that which *Cæſar* makes to *Octavia*.

The events, of which the principal are deſcribed according to hiſtory, are produced without any art of connection or care of diſpoſition.

TIMON OF ATHENS.

The play of *Timon* is a domeſtick tragedy, and therefore ſtrongly faſtens on the attention of the reader. In the plan there is not much art, but the incidents are natural, and the characters various and exact. The cataſtrophe affords a very powerful warning againſt that oſtentatious liberality, which ſcatters bounty, but confers no benefits, and buys flattery, but not friendſhip.

In this tragedy, are many paſſages perplexed, obſcure, and probably corrupt, which I have endeavoured to rectify, or explain, with due diligence; but having only one copy, cannot promiſe myſelf that my endeavours ſhall be much applauded.

TITUS

Digitized by Google

TITUS ANDRONICUS.

All the editors and criticks agree with Mr. *Theobald* in ſuppoſing this play ſpurious. I ſee no reaſon for differing from them; for the colour of the ſtyle is wholly different from that of the other plays, and there is an attempt at regular verſification, and artificial cloſes, not always inelegant, yet ſeldom pleaſing. The barbarity of the ſpectacles, and the general maſſacre, which are here exhibited, can ſcarcely be conceived tolerable to any audience; yet we are told by *Jonſon*, that they were not only borne, but praiſed. That *Shakeſpeare* wrote any part, though *Theobald* declares it inconteſtable, I ſee no reaſon for believing.

The teſtimony produced at the beginning of this play, by which it is aſcribed to *Shakeſpeare*, is by no means equal to the argument againſt its authenticity, ariſing from the total difference of conduct, language, and ſentiments, by which it ſtands apart from all the reſt. *Meres* had probably no other evidence, than that of a title-page, which, though in our time it be ſufficient, was then of no great authority; for all the plays which were rejected by the firſt collectors of *Shakeſpeare*'s works, and admitted in later editions, and again rejected by the critical editors, had *Shakeſpeare*'s name on the title, as we muſt ſuppoſe, by the fraudulence of the printers, who, while there were yet no gazettes, nor advertiſements, nor any means of circulating literary intelligence, could uſurp at pleaſure any celebrated name. Nor had *Shakeſpeare* any intereſt in detecting the

Digitized by Google

the impoſture, as none of his fame or profit was produced by the preſs.

The chronology of this play does not prove it not to be *Shakeſpeare*'s. If it had been written twenty-five years in 1614, it might have been written when *Shakeſpeare* was twenty-five years old. When he left *Warwickſhire* I know not; but at the age of twenty-five it was rather too late to fly for deer-ſtealing.

Ravenſcroft, who in the reign of *Charles* II. reviſed this play, and reſtored it to the ſtage, tells us, in his preface, from a theatrical tradition, I ſuppoſe, which in his time might be of ſufficient authority, that this play was touched in different parts by *Shakeſpeare*, but written by ſome other poet. I do not find *Shakeſpeare*'s touches very diſcernible.

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

This play is more correctly written than moſt of *Shakeſpeare*'s compoſitions, but it is not one of thoſe in which either the extent of his views or elevation of his fancy is fully diſplayed. As the ſtory abounded with materals, he has exerted little invention; but he has diverſified his characters with great variety, and preſerved them with great exactneſs. His vicious characters ſometimes diſguſt, but cannot corrupt, for both *Creſſida* and *Pandarus* are deteſted and contemned. The comick characters ſeem to have been the favourites of the writer; they are of the ſuperficial kind, and exhibit more of manners than nature; but they are copiouſly filled, and powerfully impreſſed.

Shakeſpeare has in his ſtory followed for the greater part the old book of *Caxton*, which was then very

Digitized by Google

popular; but the character of *Therſites*, of which it makes no mention, is a proof that this play was written after *Chapman* had publiſhed his verſion of *Homer*.

CYMBELINE.

This play has many juſt ſentiments, ſome natural dialogues, and ſome pleaſing ſcenes, but they are obtained at the expenſe of much incongruity. To remark the folly of the fiction, the abſurdity of the conduct, the confuſion of the names, and manners of different times, and the impoſſibility of the events in any ſyſtem of life, were to waſte criticiſm upon unreſiſting imbecility, upon faults too evident for detection, and too groſs for aggravation.

KING LEAR.

The tragedy of *Lear* is deſervedly celebrated among the dramas of *Shakeſpeare*. There is perhaps no play which keeps the attention ſo ſtrongly fixed; which ſo much agitates our paſſions, and intereſts our curioſity. The artful involutions of diſtinct intereſts, the ſtriking oppoſition of contrary characters, the ſudden changes of fortune, and the quick ſucceſſion of events, fill the mind with a perpetual tumult of indignation, pity, and hope. There is no ſcene which does not contribute to the aggravation of the diſtreſs or conduct of the action, and ſcarce a line which does not conduce to the progreſs of the ſcene. So powerful is the current of the poet's imagination, that the mind, which once ventures within it, is hurried irreſiſtibly along.

Digitized by Google

On the ſeeming improbability of *Lear*'s conduct, it may be obſerved, that he is repreſented according to hiſtories at that time vulgarly received as true. And, perhaps, if we turn our thoughts upon the barbarity and ignorance of the age to which this ſtory is referred, it will appear not ſo unlikely as while we eſtimate *Lear*'s manners by our own. Such preference of one daughter to another, or reſignation of dominion on ſuch conditions, would be yet credible, if told of a petty prince of *Guinea* or *Madagaſcar*. *Shakeſpeare*, indeed, by the mention of his earls and dukes, has given us the idea of times more civilized and of life regulated by ſofter manners; and the truth is, that though he ſo nicely diſcriminates, and ſo minutely deſcribes the characters of men, he commonly neglects and confounds the characters of ages, by mingling cuſtoms ancient and modern, *Engliſh* and foreign.

My learned friend Mr. *Warton*, who has in the *Adventurer* very minutely criticiſed this play, remarks, that the inſtances of cruelty are too ſavage and ſhocking, and that the intervention of *Edmund* deſtroys the ſimplicity of the ſtory. Theſe objections may, I think, be anſwered, by repeating, that the cruelty of the daughters is an hiſtorical fact, to which the poet has added little, having only drawn it into a ſeries by dialogue and action. But I am not able to apologize with equal plauſibility for the extruſion of *Gloſter*'s eyes, which ſeems an act too horrid to be endured in dramatick exhibition, and ſuch as muſt always compel the mind to relieve its diſtreſs by incredulity. Yet let it be remembered that our au-

Digitized by Google

thor well knew what would pleaſe the audience for which he wrote.

The injury done by *Edmund* to the ſimplicity of the action is abundantly recompenſed by the addition of variety by the art with which he is made to co-operate with the chief deſign, and the opportunity which he gives the poet of combining perfidy with perfidy, and connecting the wicked ſon with the wicked daughters to impreſs this important moral, that villainy is never at a ſtop, that crimes lead to crimes, and at laſt terminate in ruin.

But though this moral be incidently enforced, *Shakeſpeare* has ſuffered the virtue of *Cordelia* to periſh in a juſt cauſe, contrary to the natural ideas of juſtice, to the hope of the reader, and, what is yet more ſtrange, to the faith of chronicles. Yet this conduct is juſtified by *The Spectator*, who blames *Tate* for giving *Cordelia* ſucceſs and happineſs in his alteration, and declares, that in his opinion *the tragedy has loſt half its beauty*. *Dennis* has remarked, whether juſtly or not, that, to ſecure the favourable reception of *Cato*, *the town was poiſoned with much falſe and abominable criticiſm*, and that endeavours had been uſed to diſcredit and decry poetical juſtice. A play in which the wicked proſper, and the virtuous miſcarry, may doubtleſs be good, becauſe it is a juſt repreſentation of the common events of human life: but ſince all reaſonable beings naturally love juſtice, I cannot eaſily be perſuaded, that the obſervation of juſtice makes a play worſe; or, that if other excellencies are equal, the audience will not always riſe better pleaſed from the final triumph of perſecuted virtue.

In

Digitized by Google

In the preſent caſe the publick has decided. *Cordelia*, from the time of *Tate*, has always retired with victory and felicity. And, if my ſenſations could add any thing to the general ſuffrage, I might relate, I was many years ago ſo ſhocked by *Cordelia*'s death, that I know not whether I ever endured to read again the laſt ſcenes of the play till I undertook to reviſe them as an editor.

There is another controverſy among the criticks concerning this play. It is diſputed whether the predominant image in *Lear*'s diſordered mind be the loſs of his kingdom or the cruelty of his daughters. Mr. *Murphy*, a very judicious critick, has evinced by induction of particular paſſages, that the cruelty of his daughters is the primary ſource of his diſtreſs, and that the loſs of royalty affects him only as a ſecondary and ſubordinate evil. He obſerves with great juſtneſs, that *Lear* would move our compaſſion but little, did we not rather conſider the injured father than the degraded king.

The ſtory of this play, except the epiſode of *Edmund*, which is derived, I think, from *Sidney*, is taken originally from *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*, whom *Holinſhed* generally copied; but perhaps immediately from an old hiſtorical ballad. My reaſon for believing that the play was poſterior to the ballad, rather than the ballad to the play, is, that the ballad, has nothing of *Shakeſpeare*'s nocturnal tempeſt, which is too ſtriking to have been omitted, and that it follows the chronicle; it has the rudiments of the play, but none of its amplifications: it firſt hinted *Lear*'s madneſs, but did not array it in circumſtances. The writer of the ballad added ſomething to the hiſtory, which is a

Digitized by Google

proof that he would have added more, if more had occurred to his mind, and more muſt have occurred if he had ſeen *Shakeſpeare*.

ROMEO AND JULIET.

This play is one of the moſt pleaſing of our author's performances. The ſcenes are buſy and various, the incidents numerous and important, the cataſtrophe irreſiſtibly affecting, and the proceſs of the action carried on with ſuch probability, at leaſt with ſuch congruity to popular opinions, as tragedy requires.

Here is one of the few attempts of *Shakeſpeare* to exhibit the converſation of gentlemen, to repreſent the airy ſprightlineſs of juvenile elegance. Mr. *Dryden* mentions a tradition, which might eaſily reach his time, of a declaration made by *Shakeſpeare*, that *he was obliged to kill* Mercutio *in the third act, leſt he ſhould have been killed by him.* Yet he thinks him *no ſuch formidable perſon but that he might have lived through the play, and died in his bed*, without danger to a poet. *Dryden* well knew, had he been in queſt of truth, that, in a pointed ſentence, more regard is commonly had to the words than the thought, and that it is very ſeldom to be rigorouſly underſtood. *Mercutio*'s wit, gaiety, and courage, will always procure him friends that wiſh him a longer life; but his death is not precipitated, he has lived out the time allotted him in the conſtruction of the play; nor do I doubt the ability of *Shakeſpeare* to have continued his exiſtence, though ſome of his ſallies are perhaps out of the reach of *Dryden*; whoſe genius was

Digitized by Google

was not very fertile of merriment, nor ductile to humour, but acute, argumentative, comprehenſive, and ſublime.

The *Nurſe* is one of the characters in which the author delighted; he has, with great ſubtility of diſtinction, drawn her at once loquacious and ſecret, obſequious and inſolent, truſty and diſhoneſt.

His comick ſcenes are happily wrought, but his pathetick ſtrains are always polluted with ſome unexpected depravations. His perſons, however diſtreſſed, *have a conceit left them in their miſery, a miſerable conceit.*

HAMLET.

If the dramas of *Shakeſpeare* were to be characteriſed, each by the particular excellence which diſtinguiſhes it from the reſt, we muſt allow to the tragedy of *Hamlet* the praiſe of variety. The incidents are ſo numerous, that the argument of the play would make a long tale. The ſcenes are interchangeably diverſified with merriment and ſolemnity; with merriment, that includes judicious and inſtructive obſervations; and ſolemnity, not ſtrained by poetical violence above the natural ſentiments of man. New characters appear from time to time in continual ſucceſſion, exhibiting various forms of life and particular modes of converſation. The pretended madneſs of *Hamlet* cauſes much mirth, the mournful diſtraction of *Ophelia* fills the heart with tenderneſs, and every perſonage produces the effect intended, from the apparition that in the firſt act chills the blood with horror,

Digitized by Google

ror, to the fop in the laſt, that expoſes affectation to juſt contempt.

The conduct is perhaps not wholly ſecure againſt objections. The action is indeed for the moſt part in continual progreſſion, but there are ſome ſcenes which neither forward nor retard it. Of the feigned madneſs of *Hamlet* there appears no adequate cauſe, for he does nothing which he might not have done with the reputation of ſanity. He plays the madman moſt, when he treats *Ophelia* with ſo much rudeneſs, which ſeems to be uſeleſs and wanton cruelty.

Hamlet is, through the whole piece, rather an inſtrument than an agent. After he has by the ſtratagem of the play, convicted the king, he makes no attempt to puniſh him; and his death is at laſt effected by an incident which *Hamlet* had no part in producing.

The cataſtrophe is not very happily produced; the exchange of weapons is rather an expedient of neceſſity, than a ſtroke of art. A ſcheme might eaſily have been formed to kill *Hamlet* with the dagger, and *Laertes* with the bowl.

The poet is accuſed of having ſhewn little regard to poetical juſtice, and may be charged with equal neglect of poetical probability. The appariton left the regions of the dead to little purpoſe; the revenge which he demands is not obtained, but by the death of him that was required to take it; and the gratification, which would ariſe from the deſtruction of an uſurper and a murderer, is abated by the untimely death of *Ophelia*, the young, the beautiful, the harmleſs, and the pious.

OTHELLO.

Digitized by Google

OTHELLO.

The beauties of this play impreſs themſelves ſo ſtrongly upon the attention of the reader, that they can draw no aid from critical illuſtration. The fiery openneſs of *Othello*, magnanimous, artleſs, and credulous, boundleſs in his confidence, ardent in his affection, inflexible in his reſolution, and obdurate in his revenge; the cool malignity of *Iago*, ſilent in his reſentment, ſubtle in his deſigns, and ſtudious at once of his intereſt and his vengeance; the ſoft ſimplicity of *Deſdemona*, confident of merit, and conſcious of innocence, her artleſs perſeverance in her ſuit, and her ſlowneſs to ſuſpect that ſhe can be ſuſpected, are ſuch proofs of *Shakeſpeare*'s ſkill in human nature, as, I ſuppoſe, it is vain to ſeek in any modern writer. The gradual progreſs which *Iago* makes in the *Moor*'s conviction, and the circumſtances which he employs to inflame him, are ſo artfully natural, that, though it will perhaps not be ſaid of him as he ſays of himſelf, that he is *a man not eaſily jealous*, yet we cannot but pity him, when at laſt we find him *perplexed in the extreme.*

There is always danger, leſt wickedneſs, conjoined with abilities, ſhould ſteal upon eſteem, though it miſſes of approbation; but the character of *Iago* is ſo conducted, that he is from the firſt ſcene to the laſt hated and deſpiſed.

Even the inferior characters of this play would be very conſpicuous in any other piece, not only for their juſtneſs, but their ſtrength. *Caſſio* is brave, benevolent, and honeſt, ruined only by his want of ſtubborn-

neſs

Digitized by Google

neſs to reſiſt an inſiduous invitation. *Roderigo*'s ſuſpicious credulity, and impatient ſubmiſſion to the cheats which he ſees practiſed upon him, and which by perſuaſion he ſuffers to be repeated, exhibit a ſtrong picture of a weak mind betrayed by unlawful deſires to a falſe friend; and the virtue of *Æmilia* is ſuch as we often find worn looſely, but not caſt off, eaſy to commit ſmall crimes, but quickened and alarmed at atrocious villanies.

The ſcenes from the beginning to the end are buſy, varied by happy interchanges, and regularly promoting the progreſſion of the ſtory; and the narrative in the end, though it tells but what is known already, yet is neceſſary to produce the death of *Othello*.

Had the ſcene opened in *Cyprus*, and the preceding incidents been occaſionally related, there had been little wanting to a drama of the moſt exact and ſcrupulous regularity.

Digitized by Google

AN ACCOUNT OF THE HARLEIAN LIBRARY.

TO ſolicit a ſubſcription for a Catalogue of Books expoſed to ſale, is an attempt for which ſome apology cannot but be neceſſary; for few would willingly contribute to the expenſe of volumes, by which neither inſtruction nor entertainment could be afforded, from which only the bookſeller could expect advantage, and of which the only uſe muſt ceaſe, at the diſperſion of the library.

Nor could the reaſonableneſs of an univerſal rejection of our propoſal be denied, if this catalogue were to be compiled with no other view, than that of promoting the ſale of the books which it enumerates, and drawn up with that inaccuracy and confuſion which may be found in thoſe that are daily publiſhed.

But our deſign, like our propoſal, is uncommon, and to be proſecuted at a very uncommon expenſe: it being intended, that the books ſhall be diſtributed into their diſtinct claſſes, and every claſs ranged with ſome regard to the age of the writers; that every book

Digitized by Google

book ſhall be accurately deſcribed; that the peculiarities of editions ſhall be remarked, and obſervations from the authors of literary hiſtory occaſionally interſperſed; that, by this catalogue, we may inform poſterity of the excellence and value of this great collection, and promote the knowledge of ſcarce books, and elegant editions. For this purpoſe men of letters are engaged, who cannot even be ſupplied with amanuenſes, but at an expenſe above that of a common catalogue.

To ſhew that this collection deſerves a particular degree of regard from the learned and the ſtudious, that it excels any library that was ever yet offered to public ſale in the value as well as number of the volumes which it contains; and that therefore this catalogue will not be of leſs uſe to men of letters, than thoſe of the *Thuanian*, *Heinſian*, or *Barberinian* libraries, it may not be improper to exhibit a general account of the different claſſes, as they are naturally divided by the ſeveral ſciences.

By this method we can indeed exhibit only a general idea, at once magnificent and confuſed; an idea of the writings of many nations, collected from diſtant parts of the world, diſcovered ſometimes by chance, and ſometimes by curioſity, amidſt the rubbiſh of forſaken monaſteries, and the repoſitories of ancient families, and brought hither from every part, as to the univerſal receptacle of learning.

It will be no unpleaſing effect of this account, if thoſe that ſhall happen to peruſe it, ſhould be inclined by it to reflect on the character of the late proprietors, and to pay ſome tribute of veneration to

Digitized by Google

to their ardour for literature, to that generous and exalted curioſity which they gratified with inceſſant ſearches and immenſe expenſe, and to which they dedicated that time, and that ſuperfluity of fortune, which many others of their rank employ in the purſuit of contemptible amuſements, or the gratification of guilty paſſions. And, ſurely, every man, who conſiders learning as ornamental and advantageous to the community, muſt allow them the honour of publick benefactors, who have introduced amongſt us authors not hitherto well known, and added to the literary treaſures of their native country.

That our catalogue will excite any other man to emulate the collectors of this library, to prefer books and manuſcripts to equipage and luxury, and to forſake noiſe and diverſion for the converſation of the learned, and the ſatisfaction of extenſive knowledge, we are very far from preſuming to hope; but ſhall make no ſcruple to aſſert, that, if any man ſhould happen to be ſeized with ſuch laudable ambition, he may find in this catalogue hints and informations, which are not eaſily to be met with; he will diſcover, that the boaſted *Bodleian* library is very far from a perfect model, and that even the learned *Fabricius* cannot completely inſtruct him in the early editions of the claſſic writers.

But the collectors of libraries cannot be numerous; and, therefore, catalogues cannot very properly be recommended to the publick, if they had not a more general and frequent uſe, an uſe which every ſtudent has experienced, or neglected to his loſs. By the means of catalogues only can it be known, what has been written on every part of learning, and the hazard

Digitized by Google

zard avoided of encountering difficulties which have already been cleared, diſcuſſing queſtions which have already been decided, and digging in mines of literature which former ages have exhauſted.

How often this has been the fate of ſtudents, every man of letters can declare; and, perhaps, there are very few who have not ſometimes valued as new diſcoveries, made by themſelves, thoſe obſervations, which have long ſince been publiſhed, and of which the world therefore will refuſe them the praiſe; nor can the refuſal be cenſured as any enormous violation of juſtice; for, why ſhould they not forfeit by their ignorance, what they might claim by their ſagacity?

To illuſtrate this remark, by the mention of obſcure names, would not much confirm it; and to vilify for this purpoſe the memory of men truly great, would be to deny them the reverence which they may juſtly claim from thoſe whom their writings have inſtructed. May the ſhade at leaſt, of one great *Engliſh* critick reſt without diſturbance; and may no man preſume to inſult his memory, who wants his learning, his reaſon, or his wit.

From the vexatious diſappointment of meeting reproach, where praiſe is expected, every man will certainly deſire to be ſecured; and therefore that book will have ſome claim to his regard, from which he may receive informations of the labours of his predeceſſors, ſuch as a catalogue of the *Harleian* library will copiouſly afford him.

Nor is the uſe of catalogues of leſs importance to thoſe whom curioſity has engaged in the ſtudy of literary hiſtory, and who think the intellectual revolutions of the world more worthy of their attention, than the ravages

Digitized by Google

ravages of tyrants, the deſolation of kingdoms, the rout of armies, and the fall of empires. Thoſe who are pleaſed with obſerving the firſt birth of new opinions, their ſtruggles againſt oppoſition, their ſilent progreſs under perſecution, their general reception, and their gradual decline, or ſudden extinction; thoſe that amuſe themſelves with remarking the different periods of human knowledge, and obſerve how darkneſs and light ſucceed each other; by what accident the moſt gloomy nights of ignorance have given way in the dawn of ſcience, and how learning has languiſhed and decayed, for want of patronage and regard, or been overborne by the prevalence of faſhionable ignorance, or loſt amidſt the tumults of invaſion, and the ſtorms of violence. All thoſe who deſire any knowledge of the literary tranſactions of paſt ages, may find in catalogues, like this at leaſt, ſuch an account as is given by annaliſts, and chronologers of civil hiſtory.

How the knowledge of the ſacred writings has been diffuſed, will be obſerved from the catalogue of the various editions of the bible, from the firſt impreſſion by *Fuſt*, in 1462, to the preſent time; in which will be contained the polyglot editions of *Spain*, *France*, and *England*, thoſe of the original *Hebrew*, the *Greek Septuagint*, and the *Latin Vulgate*; with the verſions which are now uſed in the remoteſt parts of *Europe*, in the country of the *Griſons*, in *Lithuania*, *Bohemia*, *Finland*, and *Iceland*.

With regard to the attempts of the ſame kind made in our own country, there are few whoſe expectations will not be exceeded by the number of *Engliſh* bibles, of which not one is forgotten, whether valuable for the

Digitized by Google

the pomp and beauty of the impreſſion, or for the notes with which the text is accompanied, or for any controverſy or perſecution that it produced, or for the peculiarity of any ſingle paſſage. With the ſame care have the various editions of the book of common-prayer been ſelected, from which all the alterations which have been made in it may be eaſily remarked.

Amongſt a great number of *Roman* miſſals and breviaries, remarkable for the beauty of their cuts and illuminations, will be found the *Moſorabic* miſſal and breviary, that raiſed ſuch commotions in the kingdom of *Spain*.

The controverſial treaties written in *England*, about the time of the Reformation, have been diligently collected, with a multitude of remarkable tracts, ſingle ſermons, and ſmall treatiſes; which, however worthy to be preſerved, are, perhaps, to be found in no other place.

The regard which was always paid, by the collectors of this library, to that remarkable period of time, in which the art of printing was invented, determined them to accumulate the ancient impreſſions of the fathers of the church; to which the later editions are added, leſt antiquity ſhould have ſeemed more worthy of eſteem than accuracy.

Hiſtory has been conſidered with the regard due to that ſtudy by which the manners are moſt eaſily formed, and from which the moſt efficacious inſtruction is received; nor will the moſt extenſive curioſity fail of gratification in this library; from which no writers have been excluded, that relate either to the religious or civil affairs of any nation.

Not

Digitized by Google

Not only thoſe authors of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory have been procured, that treat of the ſtate of religion in general, or deliver accounts of ſects or nations, but thoſe likewiſe who have confined themſelves to particular orders of men in every church; who have related the original, and the rules of every ſociety, or recounted the lives of its founder and its members; thoſe who have deduced in every country the ſucceſſion of biſhops, and thoſe who have employed their abilities in celebrating the piety of particular ſaints, or martyrs, or monks, or nuns.

The civil hiſtory of all nations has been amaſſed together; nor is it eaſy to determine which has been thought moſt worthy of curioſity.

Of *France*, not only the general hiſtories and ancient chronicles, the accounts of celebrated reigns, and narratives of remarkable events, but even the memorials of ſingle families, the lives of private men, the antiquities of particular cities, churches, and monaſteries, the topography of provinces, and the accounts of laws, cuſtoms, and preſcriptions, are here to be found.

The ſeveral ſtates of *Italy* have, in this treaſury, their particular hiſtorians, whoſe accounts are, perhaps, generally more exact, by being leſs extenſive; and more intereſting, by being more particular.

Nor has leſs regard been paid to the different nations of the *Germanic* empire, of which neither the *Bohemians*, nor *Hungarians*, nor *Auſtrians*, nor *Bavarians*, have been neglected; nor have their antiquities, however generally diſregarded, been leſs ſtudiouſly ſearched, than their preſent ſtate.

Digitized by Google

The northern nations have ſupplied this collection, not only with hiſtory, but poetry, with *Gothic* antiquities, and *Runic* inſcriptions; which at leaſt have this claim to veneration, above the remains of the *Roman* magnificence, that they are the works of thoſe heroes by whom the *Roman* empire was deſtroyed; and which may plead, at leaſt in this nation, that they ought not to be neglected by thoſe that owe to the men whoſe memories they preſerve, their conſtitution, their properties, and their liberties.

The curioſity of theſe collectors extends equally to all parts of the world; nor did they forget to add to the northern the ſouthern writers, or to adorn their collection with chronicles of *Spain*, and the conqueſt of *Mexico*.

Even of thoſe nations with which we have leſs intercourſe, whoſe cuſtoms are leſs accurately known, and whoſe hiſtory is leſs diſtinctly recounted, there are in this library repoſited ſuch accounts as the *Europeans* have been hitherto able to obtain; nor are the *Mogul*, the *Tartar*, the *Turk*, and the *Saracen*, without their hiſtorians.

That perſons ſo inquiſitive with regard to the tranſactions of other nations, ſhould enquire yet more ardently after the hiſtory of their own, may be naturally expected; and, indeed, this part of the library is no common inſtance of diligence and accuracy. Here are to be found, with the ancient chronicles, and larger hiſtories of *Britain*, the narratives of ſingle reigns, and the accounts of remarkable revolutions, the topographical hiſtories of counties, the pedigrees of families, the antiquities of churches and cities, the proceedings

of

Digitized by Google

of parliaments, the records of monaſteries, and the lives of particular men, whether eminent in the church or the ſtate, or remarkable in private life; whether exemplary for their virtues, or deteſtable for their crimes; whether perſecuted for religion, or executed for rebellion.

That memorable period of the *Engliſh* hiſtory, which begins with the reign of king *Charles the Firſt*, and ends with the Reſtoration, will almoſt furniſh a library alone, ſuch is the number of volumes, pamphlets, and papers, which were publiſhed by either partȳ; and ſuch is the care with which they have been preſerved.

Nor is hiſtory without the neceſſary preparatives and attendants, geography and chronology: of geography, the beſt writers and delineators have been procured, and pomp and accuracy have both been regarded: the ſtudent of chronology may here find likewiſe thoſe authors who ſearched the records of time, and fixed the periods of hiſtory.

With the hiſtorians and geographers may be ranked the writers of voyages and travels, which may be read here in the *Latin*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *German*, *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniſh* languages.

The laws of different countries, as they are in themſelves equally worthy of curioſity with their hiſtory, have, in this collection, been juſtly regarded; and the rules by which the various communities of the world are governed, may be here examined and compared. Here are the ancient editions of the papal decretals, and the commentators on the civil law, the edicts of *Spain*, and the ſtatutes of *Venice*.

Digitized by Google

But with particular induſtry have the various writers on the laws of our own country been collected, from the moſt ancient to the preſent time, from the bodies of the ſtatutes to the minuteſt treatiſe; not only the reports, precedents, and readings of our own courts, but even the laws of our *Weſt-Indian* colonies, will be exhibited in our catalogue.

But neither hiſtory nor law have been ſo far able to engroſs this library, as to exclude phyſic, philoſophy, or criticiſm. Thoſe have been thought, with juſtice, worthy of a place, who have examined the different ſpecies of animals, delineated their forms, or deſcribed their properties and inſtincts; or who have penetrated the bowels of the earth, treated on its different ſtrata, and analyſed its metals; or who have amuſed themſelves with leſs laborious ſpeculations, and planted trees, or cultivated flowers.

Thoſe that have exalted their thoughts above the minuter parts of the creation, who have obſerved the motions of the heavenly bodies, and attempted ſyſtems of the univerſe, have not been denied the honour which they deſerved by ſo great an attempt, whatever has been their ſucceſs. Nor have thoſe mathematicians been rejected, who have applied their ſcience to the common purpoſes of life; or thoſe that have deviated into the kindred arts, of tactics, architecture, and fortification.

Even arts of far leſs importance have found their authors, nor have theſe authors been deſpiſed by the boundleſs curioſity of the proprietors of the *Harleian* library. The writers on horſemanſhip and fencing are more numerious, and more bulky, than could be expected

Digitized by Google

expected by thoſe who reflect how ſeldom thoſe excel in either, whom their education has qualified to compoſe books.

The admirer of *Greek* and *Roman* literature will meet, in this collection, with editions little known to the moſt inquiſitive criticks, and which have eſcaped the obſervation of thoſe whoſe great employment has been the collation of copies; nor will he find only the moſt ancient editions of *Fauſtus*, *Jenſon*, *Spira*, *Sweynheim*, and *Pannartz*, but the moſt accurate likewiſe and beautiful of *Colinæus*, the *Juntæ*, *Plantin*, *Aldus*, the *Stephens*, and *Elzevir*, with the commentaries and obſervations of the moſt learned editors.

Nor are they accompanied only with the illuſtrations of thoſe who have confined their attempts to particular writers, but of thoſe likewiſe who have treated on any part of the *Greek* or *Roman* antiquities, their laws, their cuſtoms, their dreſs, their buildings, their wars, their revenues, or the rites and ceremonies of their worſhip, and thoſe that have endeavoured to explain any of their authors from their ſtatues or their coins.

Next to the ancients, thoſe writers deſerve to be mentioned, who, at the reſtoration of literature, imitated their language and their ſtyle with ſo great ſucceſs, or who laboured with ſo much induſtry to make them underſtood: ſuch were *Philelphus* and *Politian*, *Scaliger* and *Buchanan*, and the poets of the age of *Leo the Tenth*; theſe are likewiſe to be found in this library, together with the *Deliciæ*, or collections of all nations.

Painting is ſo nearly allied to poetry, that it cannot be wondered that thoſe who have ſo much

Digitized by Google

eſteemed the one, have paid an equal regard to the other; and therefore it may be eaſily imagined, that the collection of prints is numerous in an uncommon degree; but ſurely, the expectation of every man will be exceeded, when he is informed that there are more than forty thouſand engraven from *Raphael*, *Titian*, *Guido*, the *Carraches*, and a thouſand others, by *Nanteuil*, *Hollar*, *Collet*, *Edelinck*, and *Dorigny*, and other engravers of equal reputation.

There is alſo a great collection of original drawings, of which three ſeem to deſerve a particular mention; the firſt exhibits a repreſentation of the inſide of St. *Peter*'s church at *Rome*; the ſecond, of that of St. *John Lateran*; and the third, of the high altar of St. *Ignatius*; all painted with the utmoſt accuracy, in their proper colours.

As the value of this great collection may be conceived from this account, however imperfect, as the variety of ſubjects muſt engage the curioſity of men of different ſtudies, inclinations, and employments, it may be thought of very little uſe to mention any ſlighter advantages, or to dwell on the decorations and embelliſhments which the generoſity of the proprietors has beſtowed upon it; yet, ſince the compiler of the *Thuanian* catalogue thought not even that ſpecies of elegance below his obſervation, it may not be improper to obſerve, that the *Harleian* library, perhaps, excels all others, not more in the number and excellence, than in the ſplendor of its volumes.

We may now ſurely be allowed to hope, that our catalogue will not be thought unworthy of the publick curioſity; that it will be purchaſed as a record

Digitized by Google

of this great collection, and preserved as one of the memorials of learning.

The patrons of literature will forgive the purchaser of this library, if he presumes to assert some claim to their protection and encouragement, as he may have been instrumental in continuing to this nation the advantage of it. The sale of *Vossius*'s collection into a foreign country, is, to this day, regretted by men of letters; and if this effort for the prevention of another loss of the same kind should be disadvantageous to him, no man will hereafter willingly risque his fortune in the cause of learning.

Digitized by Google

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

ORIGIN AND IMPORTANCE

OF

SMALL TRACTS AND FUGITIVE PIECES.

Written for the INTRODUCTION to the

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

THOUGH the ſcheme of the following Miſcellany is ſo obvious, that the title alone is ſufficient to explain it; and though ſeveral collections have been formerly attempted upon plans, as to the method, very little, but, as to the capacity and execution, very different from ours; we, being poſſeſſed of the greateſt variety for ſuch a work, hope for a more general reception than thoſe confined ſchemes had the fortune to meet with; and, therefore, think it not wholly unneceſſary to explain our intentions, to diſplay the treaſure of materials out of which this Miſcellany is to be compiled, and to exhibit a general idea of the pieces which we intend to inſert in it.

There is, perhaps, no nation in which it is ſo neceſſary, as in our own, to aſſemble, from time to

Digitized by Google

to time, the ſmall tracts and fugitive pieces, which are occaſionally publiſhed; for, beſides the general ſubjects of enquiry, which are cultivated by us, in common with every other learned nation, our conſtitution in church and ſtate naturally gives birth to a multitude of performances, which would either not have been written, or could not have been made publick in any other place.

The form of our government, which gives every man, that has leiſure, or curioſity, or vanity, the right of enquiring into the propriety of publick meaſures, and, by conſequence, obliges thoſe who are intruſted with the adminiſtration of national affairs, to give an account of their conduct to almoſt every man who demands it, may be reaſonably imagined to have occaſioned innumerable pamphlets, which would never have appeared under arbitrary governments, where every man lulls himſelf in indolence under calamities, of which he cannot promote the redreſs, or thinks it prudent to conceal the uneaſineſs, of which he cannot complain without danger.

The multiplicity of religious ſects tolerated among us, of which every one has found opponents and vindicators, is another ſource of unexhauſtible publication, almoſt peculiar to ourſelves; for controverſies cannot be long continued, nor frequently revived, where an inquiſitor has a right to ſhut up the diſputants in dungeons; or where ſilence can be impoſed on either party, by the refuſal of a licence.

Not that it ſhould be inferred from hence, that political or religious controverſies are the only products of the liberty of the *Britiſh* preſs; the mind once let looſe

Digitized by Google

looſe to enquiry, and ſuffered to operate without reſtraint, neceſſarily deviates into peculiar opinions, and wanders in new tracts, where ſhe is indeed ſometimes loſt in a labyrinth, from which though ſhe cannot return, and ſcarce knows how to proceed; yet, ſometimes, makes uſeful diſcoveries, or finds out nearer paths to knowledge.

The boundleſs liberty with which every man may write his own thoughts, and the opportunity of conveying new ſentiments to the publick, without danger of ſuffering either ridicule or cenſure, which every man may enjoy, whoſe vanity does not incite him too haſtily to own his performances, naturally invites thoſe who employ themſelves in ſpeculation, to try how their notions will be received by a nation, which exempts caution from fear, and modeſty from ſhame; and it is no wonder, that where reputation may be gained, but needs not be loſt, multitudes are willing to try their fortune, and thruſt their opinions into the light; ſometimes with unſucceſsful haſte, and ſometimes with happy temerity.

It is obſerved, that, among the natives of *England*, is to be found a greater variety of humour, than in any other country; and, doubtleſs, where every man has a full liberty to propagate his conceptions, variety of humour muſt produce variety of writers; and, where the number of authors is ſo great, there cannot but be ſome worthy of diſtinction.

All theſe, and many other cauſes, too tedious to be enumerated, have contributed to make pamphlets and

Digitized by Google

and ſmall tracts a very important part of an *Engliſh* library; nor are there any pieces, upon which thoſe, who aſpire to the reputation of judicious collectors of books, beſtow more attention, or greater expenſe; becauſe many advantages may be expected from the peruſal of theſe ſmall productions, which are ſcarcely to be found in that of larger works.

If we regard hiſtory, it is well known, that moſt political treatiſes have for a long time appeared in this form, and that the firſt relations of tranſactions, while they are yet the ſubject of converſation, divide the opinions, and employ the conjectures of mankind, are delivered by theſe petty writers, who have opportunities of collecting the different ſentiments of diſputants, of enquiring the truth from living witneſſes, and of copying their repreſentations from the life; and, therefore they preſerve a multitude of particular incidents, which are forgotten in a ſhort time, or omitted in formal relations, and which are yet to be conſidered as ſparks of truth, which, when united, may afford light in ſome of the darkeſt ſcenes of ſtate, as we doubt not, will be ſufficiently proved in the courſe of this miſcellany; and which it is, therefore, the intereſt of the publick to preſerve unextinguiſhed.

The ſame obſervation may be extended to ſubjects of yet more importance. In controverſies that relate to the truths of religion, the firſt eſſays of reformation are generally timerous; and thoſe, who have opinions to offer, which they expect to be oppoſed, produce their ſentiments, by degrees, and, for the moſt part, in ſmall tracts: by degrees; that they may not ſhock their readers with too many novelties at once; and in ſmall

Digitized by Google

ſmall tracts, that they may be eaſily diſperſed, or privately printed: almoſt every controverſy, therefore, has been, for a time, carried on in pamphlets, nor has ſwelled into larger volumes, till the firſt ardor of the diſputants has ſubſided, and they have recollected their notions with coolneſs enough to digeſt them into order, conſolidate them into ſyſtems, and fortify them with authorities.

From pamphlets, conſequently, are to be learned the progreſs of every debate; the various ſtate to which the queſtions have been changed; the artifices and fallacies which have been uſed, and the ſubterfuges by which reaſon has been eluded: in ſuch writings may be ſeen how the mind has been opened by degrees, how one truth has led to another, how error has been diſentangled, and hints improved to demonſtration, which pleaſure, and many others, are loſt by him that only reads the larger writers, by whom theſe ſcattered ſentiments are collected, who will ſee none of the changes of fortune which every opinion has paſſed through, will have no opportunity of remarking the tranſient advantages which error may ſometimes obtain, by the artifices of its patron, or the ſucceſsful rallies by which truth regains the day, after a repulſe; but will be to him, who traces the diſpute through into particular gradations, as he that hears of a victory, to him that ſees the battle.

Since the advantages of preſerving theſe ſmall tracts are ſo numerous, our attempt to unite them in volumes cannot be thought either uſeleſs or unſeaſonable; for there is no other method of ſecuring them from

Digitized by Google

from accidents; and they have already been ſo long neglected, that this deſign cannot be delayed, without hazarding the loſs of many pieces, which deſerve to be tranſmitted to another age.

The practice of publiſhing pamphlets on the moſt important ſubjects, has now prevailed more than two centuries among us; and therefore it cannot be doubted, but that, as no large collections have been yet made, many curious tracts muſt have periſhed; but it is too late to lament that loſs; nor ought we to reflect upon it, with any other view, than that of quickening our endeavours for the preſervation of thoſe that yet remain; of which we have now a greater number, than was, perhaps, ever amaſſed by any one perſon.

The firſt appearance of pamphlets among us, is generally thought to be at the new oppoſition raiſed againſt the errors and corruptions of the church of *Rome*. Thoſe who were firſt convinced of the reaſonableneſs of the new learning, as it was then called, propagated their opinions in ſmall pieces, which were cheaply printed; and, what was then of great importance, eaſily concealed. Theſe treatiſes were generally printed in foreign countries, and are not, therefore, always very correct. There was not then that opportunity of printing in private; for the number of printers were ſmall, and the preſſes were eaſily overlooked by the clergy, who ſpared no labour or vigilance for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy. There is, however, reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſome attempts were made to carry on the propagation of truth by a ſecret preſs; for one of the firſt treatiſes in favour of the Reformation,

Digitized by Google

tion, is ſaid, at the end, to be printed at *Greenwich, by the permiſſion of the Lord of Hoſts.*

In the time of king *Edward the Sixth*, the preſſes were employed in favour of the reformed religion, and ſmall tracts were diſperſed over the nation, to reconcile them to the new forms of worſhip. In this reign, likewiſe, political pamphlets may be ſaid to have been begun, by the addreſs of the rebels of *Devonſhire*; all which means of propagating the ſentiments of the people ſo diſturbed the court, that no ſooner was queen *Mary* reſolved to reduce her ſubjects to the *Romiſh* ſuperſtition, but ſhe artfully, by a charter,* granted to certain freemen of *London*, in whoſe fidelity no doubt, ſhe confided, intirely prohibited *all* preſſes, but what ſhould be licenſed by them; which charter is that by which the corporation of Stationers in *London* is at this time incorporated.

Under the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, when liberty again began to flouriſh, the practice of writing pamphlets became more general; preſſes were multiplied, and books were diſperſed; and, I believe, it may properly be ſaid, that the trade of writing began at that time, and that it has ever ſince gradually increaſed in the number, though, perhaps, not in the ſtyle of thoſe that followed it.

In this reign was erected the firſt *ſecret* preſs againſt the church as now eſtabliſhed, of which I have found any certain account. It was employed by the *Puri-*

* Which begins thus, 'Know ye, that We, conſidering and 'manifeſtly perceiving, that ſeveral ſeditious and heretical books 'or tracts—againſt the faith and ſound catholick doctrine of holy 'mother, the church,' &c.

tans,

Digitized by Google

rans, and conveyed from one part of the nation to another, by them, as they found themſelves in danger of diſcovery. From this preſs iſſued moſt of the pamphlets againſt *Whitgift* and his aſſociates, in the eccleſiaſtical government; and, when it was at laſt ſeized at *Mancheſter*, it was employed upon a pamphlet called *More Work for a Cooper*.

In the peaceable reign of king *James*, thoſe minds which might, perhaps, with leſs diſturbance of the world, have been engroſſed by war, were employed in controverſy; and writings of all kinds were multiplied among us. The preſs, however, was not wholly engaged in polemical performances, for more innocent ſubjects were ſometimes treated; and it deſerves to be remarked, becauſe it is not generally known, that the treatiſes of *Huſbandry* and *Agriculture*, which were publiſhed about that time, are ſo numerous, that it can ſcarcely be imagined by whom they were written, or to whom they were ſold.

The next reign is too well known to have been a time of confuſion, and diſturbance, and diſputes of every kind; and the writings which were produced, bear a natural proportion to the number of queſtions that were diſcuſſed at that time; each party had its authors and its preſſes, and no endeavours were omitted to gain proſelytes to every opinion. I know not whether this may not properly be called, *The Age of Pamphlets*; for, though they, perhaps, may not ariſe to ſuch multitudes as Mr. *Rawlinſon* imagined, they were, undoubtedly, more numerous than can be conceived by any who have not had an opportunity of examining them.

After

Digitized by Google

After the Reſtoration, the ſame differences, in religious opinions, are well known to have ſubſiſted, and the ſame political ſtruggles to have been frequently renewed; and, therefore a great number of pens were employed, on different occaſions, till, at length, all other diſputes were abſorbed in the popiſh controverſy.

From the pamphlets which theſe different periods of time produced, it is propoſed, that this Miſcellany ſhall be compiled; for which it cannot be ſuppoſed that materials will be wanting; and, therefore, the only difficulty will be in what manner to diſpoſe them.

Thoſe who have gone before us, in undertakings of this kind, have ranged the pamphlets, which chance threw into their hands, without any regard either to the ſubject on which they treated, or the time in which they were written; a practice in no wiſe to be imitated by us, who want for no materials; of which we ſhall chooſe thoſe we think beſt for the particular circumſtances of times and things, and moſt inſtructing and entertaining to the reader.

Of the different methods which preſent themſelves, upon the firſt view of the great heaps of pamphlets which the *Harleian* library exhibits, the two which merit moſt attention are, to diſtribute the treatiſes according to their ſubjects, or their dates; but neither of theſe ways can be conveniently followed. By ranging our collection in order of time, we muſt neceſſarily publiſh thoſe pieces firſt, which leaſt engage the curioſity of the bulk of mankind; and our deſign muſt fall to the ground, for want of encouragement, before it can be ſo far advanced as to obtain general regard: by

Digitized by Google

by confining ourſelves for any long time to any ſingle ſubject, we ſhall reduce our readers to one claſs; and, as we ſhall loſe all the grace of variety, ſhall diſguſt all thoſe who read chiefly to be diverted. There is likewiſe one objection of equal force, againſt both theſe methods, that we ſhall preclude ourſelves from the advantage of any future diſcoveries; and we cannot hope to aſſemble at once all the pamphlets which have been written in any age, or on any ſubject.

It may be added, in vindication of our intended practice, that it is the ſame with that of *Photius*, whoſe collections are no leſs miſcellaneous than ours; and who declares, that he leaves it to his reader, to reduce his extracts under their proper heads.

Moſt of the pieces which ſhall be offered in this collection to the publick, will be introduced by ſhort prefaces, in which will be given ſome account of the reaſons for which they are inſerted; notes will be ſometimes adjoined, for the explanation of obſcure paſſages, or obſolete expreſſions; and care will be taken to mingle uſe and pleaſure through the whole collection. Notwithſtanding every ſubject may not be reliſhed by every reader; yet the buyer may be aſſured that each number will repay his generous ſubſcription.

Digitized by Google

SOME

ACCOUNT

OF A BOOK, CALLED

THE LIFE OF BENVENUTO CELLINI.

THE original of this celebrated performance lay in manuſcript above a century and a half. Though it was read with the greateſt pleaſure by the learned of *Italy*, no man was hardy enough, during ſo long a period, to introduce to the world a book in which the ſucceſſors of *St. Peter* were handled ſo roughly: a narrative, where artiſts and ſovereign princes, cardinals and courtezans, miniſters of ſtate and mechanics, are treated with equal impartiality.

At length, in the year 1730, an enterprizing *Neapolitan*, encouraged by Dr. *Antonio Cocchi*, one of the politeſt ſcholars in *Europe*, publiſhed this ſo-much deſired work in one volume Quarto. The Doctor gave the editor an excellent preface, which, with very ſlight alteration, is judiciouſly preſerved by the tranſlator, Dr. *Nugent*: the book is, notwithſtanding, very ſcarce in *Italy*: the clergy of *Naples* are very powerful; and though

Digitized by Google

though the editor very prudently put *Colonia* inſtead of *Neapoli* in the title-page, the ſale of *Cellini* was prohibited; the court of *Rome* has actually made it an article in their *Index Expurgatorius*, and prevented the importation of the book into any country where the power of the Holy See prevails.

The life of *Benvenuto Cellini* is certainly a phenomenon in biography, whether we conſider it with reſpect to the artiſt himſelf, or the great variety of hiſtorical facts which relate to others: it is indeed a very good ſupplement to the hiſtory of *Europe*, during the greateſt part of the ſixteenth century, more eſpecially in what relates to painting, ſculpture, and architecture, and the moſt eminent maſters in thoſe elegant arts, whoſe works *Cellini* praiſes or cenſures with peculiar freedom and energy.

As to the man himſelf, there is not perhaps a more ſingular character among the race of *Adam*: the admired Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury* ſcarce equals *Cellini* in the number of peculiar qualities which ſeparate him from the reſt of the human ſpecies.

He is at once a man of pleaſure, and a ſlave to ſuperſtition; a deſpiſer of vulgar notions, and a believer in magical incantations; a fighter of duels, and a compoſer of divine ſonnets; an ardent lover of truth, and a retailer of viſionary fancies; an admirer of papal power, and a hater of popes; an offender againſt the laws, with a ſtrong reliance on divine providence. If I may be allowed the expreſſion, *Cellini* is one ſtriking feature added to the human form—a prodigy to be wondered at, not an example to be imitated.

Digitized by Google

Though *Cellini* was ſo blind to his own imperfections as to commit the moſt unjuſtifiable actions, with a full perſuaſion of the goodneſs of his cauſe and the rectitude of his intention, yet no man was a keener and more accurate obſerver of the blemiſhes of others; hence his book abounds with ſarcaſtick wit and ſatirical expreſſion. Yet though his portraits are ſometimes groteſque and over-charged, from miſinformation, from melancholy, from infirmity, and from peculiarity of humour; in general it muſt be allowed that they are drawn from the life, and conformable to the idea given by cotemporary writers. His characters of pope *Clement* the ſeventh, *Paul* the third, and his baſtard ſon *Pier Luigi*; *Francis* the firſt, and his favourite miſtreſs madam *d'Eſtampes*; *Coſmo* duke of *Florence*, and his ducheſs, with many others, are touched by the hand of a maſter.

General hiſtory cannot deſcend to minute details of the domeſtick life and private tranſactions, the paſſions and foibles of great perſonages; but theſe give truer repreſentations of their characters than all the elegant and laboured compoſitions of poets and hiſtorians.

To ſome a regiſter of the actions of a ſtatuary may ſeem a heap of unintereſting occurrences; but the diſcerning will not diſdain the efforts of a powerful mind, becauſe the writer is not ennobled by birth, or dignified by ſtation.

The man who raiſes himſelf by conſummate merit in his profeſſion to the notice of princes, who converſes with them in a language dictated by honeſt freedom, who ſcruples not to tell them thoſe truths which

Digitized by Google

which they muſt deſpair to hear from courtiers and favourites, from minions and paraſites, is a bold leveller of diſtinctions in the courts of powerful monarchs. Genius is the parent of truth and courage; and theſe, united, dread no oppoſition.

The *Tuſcan* language is greatly admired for its elegance, and the meaneſt inhabitants of *Florence* ſpeak a dialect which the reſt of *Italy* are proud to imitate. The ſtyle of *Cellini*, though plain and familiar, is vigorous and energetick. He poſſeſſes, to an uncommon degree, ſtrength of expreſſion, and rapidity of fancy. Dr. *Nugent* ſeems to have carefully ſtudied his author, and to have tranſlated him with eaſe and freedom, as well as truth and fidelity.

Digitized by Google

A

VIEW OF THE CONTROVERSY

BETWEEN

Monſ. CROUSAZ and Mr. WARBURTON,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

Mr. POPE's ESSAY on MAN.

In a LETTER to the

EDITOR *of the* GENTLEMAN's MAGAZINE, vol. xiii.

Mr. URBAN,

IT would not be found uſeleſs in the learned world, if in written controverſies as in oral diſputations, a moderator could be ſelected, who might in ſome degree ſuperintend the debate, reſtrain all needleſs excurſions, repreſs all perſonal reflections, and at laſt recapitulate the arguments on each ſide; and who, though he ſhould not aſſume the province of deciding the queſtion, might at leaſt exhibit it in its true ſtate.

This reflection aroſe in my mind upon the conſideration of Mr. Crouſaz's Commentary on the Eſſay on Man, and Mr. Warburton's Anſwer to it. The importance of the ſubject, the reputation and abilities of the controvertiſts, and perhaps the ardour with which each has endeavoured to ſupport his

Digitized by Google

cauſe, have made an attempt of this kind neceſſary for the information of the greateſt number of Mr. Pope's readers.

Among the duties of a moderator, I have mentioned that of recalling the diſputants to the ſubject, and cutting off the excreſcences of a debate, which Mr. Crouſaz will not ſuffer to be long unemployed, and the repreſſion of perſonal invectives which have not been very carefully avoided on either part; and are leſs excuſable, becauſe it has not been proved, that either the poet, or his commentator, wrote with any other deſign than that of promoting happineſs by cultivating reaſon and piety.

Mr. Warburton has indeed ſo much depreſſed the character of his adverſary, that before I conſider the controverſy between them, I think it neceſſary to exhibit ſome ſpecimens of Mr. Crouſaz's ſentiments, by which it will probably be ſhewn, that he is far from deſerving either indignation or contempt; that his notions are juſt, though they are ſometimes introduced without neceſſity; and defended when they are not oppoſed; and that his abilities and parts are ſuch as may entitle him to reverence from thoſe who think his criticiſms ſuperfluous.

In page 35 of the *Engliſh* tranſlation, he exhibits an obſervation which every writer ought to impreſs upon his mind, and which may afford a ſufficient apology for his commentary.

On the notion of a ruling paſſion he offers this remark: 'Nothing ſo much hinders men from 'obtaining a complete victory over their ruling

Digitized by Google

'paſſion, as that all the advantages gained in their 'days of retreat, by juſt and ſober reflections, whether 'ſtruck out by their own minds, or borrowed from 'good books, or from the converſation of men of 'merit, are deſtroyed in a few moments by a free 'intercourſe and acquaintance with libertines; and 'thus the work is always to be begun anew. A 'gameſter reſolves to leave off play, by which he 'finds his health impaired, his family ruined, and his 'paſſions inflamed; in this reſolution he perſiſts a 'few days, but ſoon yields to an invitation, which 'will give his prevailing inclination an opportunity 'of reviving in all its force. The caſe is the ſame 'with other men: but is reaſon to be charged with 'theſe calamities and follies, or rather the man who 'refuſes to liſten to its voice in oppoſition to imper-'tinent ſolicitations?'

On the means recommended for the attainment of happineſs, he obſerves, 'that the abilities which 'our Maker has given us, and the internal and 'external advantages with which he has inveſted 'us, are of two very different kinds; thoſe of one 'kind are beſtowed in common upon us and the 'brute creation, but the other exalt us far above 'other animals. To diſregard any of theſe gifts 'would be ingratitude; but to neglect thoſe of 'greater excellence, to go no farther than the groſs 'ſatisfactions of ſenſe, and the functions of mere ani-'mal life, would be a far greater crime. We are 'formed by our Creator capable of acquiring know-'ledge, and regulating our conduct by reaſonable 'rules; it is therefore our duty to cultivate our un-'derſtandings,

Digitized by Google

'derſtandings, and exalt our virtues. We need but 'make the experiment to find, that the greateſt plea- 'ſures will ariſe from ſuch endeavours.

'It is trifling to allege, in oppoſition to this truth, 'that knowledge cannot be acquired, nor virtue pur- 'ſued, without toil and efforts, and that all efforts 'produce fatigue. God requires nothing diſpropor- 'tioned to the powers he has given, and in the exer- 'ciſe of thoſe powers conſiſts the higheſt ſatis- 'faction.

'Toil and wearineſs are the effects of vanity: when 'a man has formed a deſign of excelling others in 'merit, he is diſquieted by their advances, and leaves 'nothing unattempted, that he may ſtep before 'them: this occaſions a thouſand unreaſonable emo- 'tions, which juſtly bring their puniſhment along 'with them.

'But let a man ſtudy and labour to cultivate and 'improve his abilities in the eye of his Maker, and 'with the proſpect of his approbation; let him atten- 'tively reflect on the infinite value of that approba- 'tion, and the higheſt encomiums that men can 'beſtow will vaniſh into nothing at the compariſon. 'When we live in this manner, we find that we live 'for a great and glorious end.

'When this is our frame of mind, we find it no 'longer difficult to reſtrain ourſelves in the gratifica- 'tions of eating and drinking, the moſt groſs enjoy- 'ments of ſenſe. We take what is neceſſary to pre- 'ſerve health and vigour, but are not to give ourſelves 'up to pleaſures that weaken the attention, and dull 'the underſtanding.'

And

Digitized by Google

And the true ſenſe of Mr. *Pope*'s aſſertion, that *Whatever is, is right*, and I believe the ſenſe in which it was written, is thus explained:—'A ſacred and 'adorable order is eſtabliſhed in the government of 'mankind. Theſe are certain and unvaried truths: 'he that ſeeks God, and makes it his happineſs to 'live in obedience to him, ſhall obtain what he en-'deavours after, in a degree far above his preſent 'comprehenſion. He that turns his back upon his 'Creator, neglects to obey him, and perſeveres in his 'diſobedience, ſhall obtain no other happineſs than 'he can receive from enjoyments of his own pro-'curing; void of ſatisfaction, weary of life, waſted by 'empty cares and remorſes equally haraſſing and juſt, 'he will experience the certain conſequences of his 'own choice. Thus will juſtice and goodneſs reſume 'their empire, and that order be reſtored which men 'have broken.'

I am afraid of wearying you or your readers with more quotations, but if you ſhall inform me that a continuation of my correſpondence will be well received, I ſhall deſcend to particular paſſages, ſhew how Mr. *Pope* gave ſometimes occaſion to miſtakes, and how Mr. *Crouſaz* was miſled by his ſuſpicion of the ſyſtem of fatality.

I am, SIR, your's, &c.

Digitized by Google

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE

TO THE

LONDON CHRONICLE,

JANUARY 1, 1757.

IT has always been lamented, that of the little time allotted to man, much muſt be ſpent upon ſuperfluities. Every proſpect has its obſtructions, which we muſt break to enlarge our view: every ſtep of our progreſs finds impediments, which, however eager to go forward, we muſt ſtop to remove. Even thoſe who profeſs to teach the way to happineſs, have multiplied our incumbrances, and the author of almoſt every book retards his inſtructions by a preface.

The writers of the Chronicle hope to be eaſily forgiven, though they ſhould not be free from an infection that has ſeized the whole fraternity, and inſtead of falling immediately to their ſubjects, ſhould detain the Reader for a time with an account of the importance of their deſign, the extent of their plan, and the accuracy of the method which they intend to proſecute. Such premonitions, though not always neceſſary when the Reader has the book complete in his hand, and may find by his own eyes whatever can be found in it, yet may be more eaſily allowed to works

publiſhed

Digitized by Google

publiſhed gradually in ſucceſſive parts, of which the ſcheme can only be ſo far known as the author ſhall think fit to diſcover it.

The Paper which we now invite the Publick to add to the Papers with which it is already rather wearied than ſatisfied, conſiſts of many parts; ſome of which it has in common with other periodical ſheets, and ſome peculiar to itſelf.

The firſt demand made by the reader of a journal is, that he ſhould find an accurate account of foreign tranſactions and domeſtick incidents. This is always expected, but this is very rarely performed. Of thoſe writers who have taken upon themſelves the taſk of intelligence, ſome have given and others have ſold their abilities, whether ſmall or great, to one or other of the parties that divide us; and without a wiſh for truth or thought of decency, without care of any other reputation than that of a ſtubborn adherence to their abettors, carry on the ſame tenor of repreſentation through all the viciſſitudes of right and wrong, neither depreſſed by detection, nor abaſhed by confutation, proud of the hourly increaſe of infamy, and ready to boaſt of all the contumelies that falſehood and ſlander may bring upon them, as new proofs of their zeal and fidelity.

With theſe heroes we have no ambition to be numbered, we leave to the confeſſors of faction the merit of their ſufferings, and are deſirous to ſhelter ourſelves under the protection of truth. That all our facts will be authentick, or all our remarks juſt, we dare not venture to promiſe: we can relate but what we hear, we can point out but what we ſee. Of remote tranſactions, the firſt accounts are always confuſed, and commonly

Digitized by Google

commonly exaggerated: and in domeſtick affairs, if the power to conceal is leſs, the intereſt to miſrepreſent is often greater; and what is ſufficiently vexatious, truth ſeems to fly from curioſity, and as many enquirers produce many narratives, whatever engages the public attention is immediately diſguiſed by the embelliſhments of fiction. We pretend to no peculiar power of diſentangling contradiction or denuding forgery, we have no ſettled correſpondence with the Antipodes, nor maintain any ſpies in the cabinets of princes. But as we ſhall always be conſcious that our miſtakes are involuntary, we ſhall watch the gradual diſcoveries of time, and retract whatever we have haſtily and erroneouſly advanced.

In the narratives of the daily writers every reader perceives ſomewhat of neatneſs and purity wanting, which at the firſt view it ſeems eaſy to ſupply; but it muſt be conſidered, that thoſe paſſages muſt be written in haſte, and that there is often no other choice, but that they muſt want either novelty or accuracy; and that as life is very uniform, the affairs of one week are ſo like thoſe of another, that by any attempt after variety of expreſſion, invention would ſoon be wearied, and language exhauſted. Some improvements however we hope to make; and for the reſt we think that when we commit only common faults, we ſhall not be excluded from common indulgence.

The accounts of prices of corn and ſtocks are to moſt of our Readers of more importance than narratives of greater ſound; and as exactneſs is here within the reach of diligence, our readers may juſtly require it from us.

Memorials

Digitized by Google

Memorials of a private and perſonal kind, which relate deaths, marriages, and preferments, muſt always be imperfect by omiſſion, and often erroneous by miſinformation; but even in theſe there ſhall not be wanting care to avoid miſtakes, or to rectify them whenever they ſhall be found.

That part of our work, by which it is diſtinguiſhed from all others, is the literary journal, or account of the labours and productions of the learned. This was for a long time among the deficiencies of *Engliſh* literature; but as the caprice of man is always ſtarting from too little to too much, we have now amongſt other diſturbers of human quiet, a numerous body of reviewers and remarkers.

Every art is improved by the emulation of competitors; thoſe who make no advances towards excellence, may ſtand as warnings againſt faults. We ſhall endeavour to avoid that petulance which treats with contempt whatever has hitherto been reputed ſacred. We ſhall repreſs that elation of malignity, which wantons in the cruelties of criticiſm, and not only murders reputation, but murders it by torture. Whenever we feel ourſelves ignorant we ſhall at leaſt be modeſt. Our intention is not to pre-occupy judgment by praiſe or cenſure, but to gratify curioſity by early intelligence, and to tell rather what our authors have attempted, than what they have performed. The titles of books are neceſſarily ſhort, and therefore diſcloſe but imperfectly the contents; they are ſometimes fraudulent and intended to raiſe falſe expectations. In our account this brevity will be extended, and theſe frauds whenever they are detected will be expoſed; for though we write without intention

Digitized by Google

tention to injure, we ſhall not ſuffer ourſelves to be made parties to deceit.

If any author ſhall tranſmit a ſummary of his work, we ſhall willingly receive it; if any literary anecdote, or curious obſervation, ſhall be communicated to us, we will carefully inſert it. Many facts are known and forgotten, many obſervations are made and ſuppreſſed; and entertainment and inſtruction are frequently loſt, for want of a repoſitory in which they may be conveniently preſerved.

No man can modeſtly promiſe what he cannot aſcertain: we hope for the praiſe of knowledge and diſcernment, but we claim only that of diligence and candour.

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

WORLD DISPLAYED*.

NAVIGATION, like other arts, has been perfected by degrees. It is not eaſy to conceive that any age or nation was without ſome veſſel, in which rivers might be paſſed by travellers, or lakes frequented by fiſhermen; but we have no knowledge of any ſhip that could endure the violence of the ocean before the ark of *Noah*.

As the tradition of the deluge has been tranſmitted to almoſt all the nations of the earth; it muſt be ſuppoſed that the memory of the means by which *Noah* and his family were preſerved, would be continued long among their deſcendants, and that the poſſibility of paſſing the ſeas could never be doubted.

What men know to be practicable, a thouſand motives will incite them to try; and there is reaſon to believe, that from the time that the generations of the poſt-diluvian race ſpread to the ſea ſhores, there were always navigators that ventured upon the ſea, though, perhaps, not willingly beyond the ſight of land.

Of the ancient voyages little certain is known, and it is not neceſſary to lay before the Reader ſuch

* A Collection of Voyages and Travels, ſelected from the writers of all nations, in four ſmall pocket volumes, and publiſhed by *Newbery*; to oblige whom, it is conjectured that *Johnſon* drew up this curious and learned paper.

conjectures

Digitized by Google

conjectures as learned men have offered to the world. The *Romans* by conquering *Carthage*, put a ſtop to great part of the trade of diſtant nations with one another, and becauſe they thought only on war and conqueſt, as their empire increaſed, commerce was diſcouraged; till under the latter emperors, ſhips ſeem to have been of little other uſe than to tranſport ſoldiers.

Navigation could not be carried to any great degree of certainty without the compaſs, which was unknown to the ancients. The wonderful quality by which a needle or ſmall bar of ſteel, touched with a loadſtone or magnet, and turning freely by equilibration on a point, always preſerves the meridian, and directs its two ends north and ſouth, was diſcovered according to the common opinion in 1299, by *John Gola* of *Amalfi*, a town in *Italy*.

From this time it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that navigation made continual, though ſlow improvements, which the confuſion and barbarity of the times, and the want of communication between orders of men ſo diſtant as ſailors and monks, hindered from being diſtinctly and ſucceſſively recorded.

It ſeems, however, that the ſailors ſtill wanted either knowledge or courage, for they continued for two centuries to creep along the coaſt, and conſidered every headland as unpaſſable, which ran far into the ſea, and againſt which the waves broke with uncommon agitation.

The firſt who is known to have formed the deſign of new diſcoveries, or the firſt who had power to execute his purpoſes, was Don *Henry* the fifth, ſon of

Digitized by Google

John, the firſt king of *Portugal*, and *Philippina*, ſiſter of *Henry* the fourth of *England*. Don *Henry* having attended his father to the conqueſt of *Ceuta*, obtained by converſation with the inhabitants of the continent, ſome accounts of the interior kingdoms and ſouthern coaſt of *Africa*; which, though rude and indiſtinct, were ſufficient to raiſe his curioſity, and convince him, that there were countries yet unknown and worthy of diſcovery.

He therefore equipped ſome ſmall veſſels, and commanded that they ſhould paſs as far as they could along that coaſt of *Africa* which looked upon the great *Atlantic* ocean, the immenſity of which ſtruck the groſs and unſkilful navigators of theſe times with terror and amazement. He was not able to communicate his own ardour to his ſeamen, who proceeded very ſlowly in the new attempt; each was afraid to venture much farther than he that went before him, and ten years were ſpent before they had advanced beyond cape *Bajador*, ſo called from its progreſſion into the ocean, and the circuit by which it muſt be doubled. The oppoſition of this promontory to the courſe of the ſea, produced a violent current and high waves, into which they durſt not venture, and which they had not yet knowledge enough to avoid by ſtanding off from the land into the open ſea.

The prince was deſirous to know ſomething of the countries that lay beyond this formidable cape, and ſent two commanders, named *John Gonzales Zarco*, and *Triſtan Vaz*, in 1418, to paſs beyond *Bajador*, and ſurvey the coaſt behind it. They were caught by a tempeſt, which drove them out

Digitized by Google

into the unknown ocean, where they expected to perish by the violence of the wind, or perhaps to wander for ever in the boundless deep. At last, in the midst of their despair, they found a small island, where they sheltered themselves, and which the sense of their deliverance disposed them to call *Puerto Santo*, or the *Holy Haven*.

When they returned with an account of this new island, *Henry* performed a publick act of thanksgiving, and sent them again with seeds and cattle; and we are told by the *Spanish* historian, that they set two rabbits on shore, which increased so much in a few years, that they drove away the inhabitants, by destroying their corn and plants, and were suffered to enjoy the island without opposition.

In the second or third voyage to *Puerto Santo* (for authors do not agree which), a third captain called *Perello*, was joined to the two former. As they looked round the island upon the ocean, they saw at a distance something which they took for a cloud, till they perceived that it did not change its place. They directed their course towards it, and, in 1419, discovered another island covered with trees, which they therefore called *Madera*, or the *Isle of Wood*.

Madera was given to *Vaz* or *Zarco*, who set fire to the woods, which are reported by *Souza* to have burnt for seven years together, and to have been wasted, till want of wood was the greatest inconveniency of the place. But green wood is not very apt to burn, and the heavy rains which fall in these countries must surely have extinguished the conflagration, were it ever so violent.

Digitized by Google

There was yet little progreſs made upon the ſouthern coaſt, and *Henry*'s project was treated as chimerical by many of his countrymen. At laſt *Gilianes*, in 1433, paſſed the dreadful cape, to which he gave the name of *Bajador*, and came back to the wonder of the nation.

In two voyages more, made in the two following years, they paſſed forty-two leagues farther, and in the latter, two men with horſes being ſet on ſhore, wandered over the country, and found nineteen men, whom, according to the ſavage manners of that age, they attacked; the natives having javelins, wounded one of the *Portugueſe*, and received ſome wounds from them. At the mouth of a river they found ſea-wolves in great numbers, and brought home many of their ſkins, which were much eſteemed.

Antonio Gonzales, who had been one of the aſſociates of *Gilianes*, was ſent again, in 1440, to bring back a cargo of the ſkins of ſea-wolves. He was followed in another ſhip by *Nunno Triſtam*. They were now of ſtrength ſufficient to venture upon violence, they therefore landed, and without either right or provocation, made all whom they ſeized their priſoners, and brought them to *Portugal*, with great commendations both from the prince and the nation.

Henry now began to pleaſe himſelf with the ſucceſs of his projects, and as one of his purpoſes was the converſion of infidels, he thought it neceſſary to impart his undertaking to the pope, and to obtain the ſanction of eccleſiaſtical authority. To this end *Fernando Lopez d'Azevedo* was diſpatched to *Rome*, who

Digitized by Google

who related to the pope and cardinals the great deſigns of *Henry*, and magnified his zeal for the propagation of religion. The pope was pleaſed with the narrative, and by a formal bull, conferred upon the crown of *Portugal* all the countries which ſhould be diſcovered as far as *India*, together with *India* itſelf, and granted ſeveral privileges and indulgencies to the churches which *Henry* had built in his new regions, and to the men engaged in the navigation for diſcovery. By this bull all other princes were forbidden to encroach upon the conqueſts of the *Portugueſe*, on pain of the cenſures incurred by the crime of uſurpation.

The approbation of the pope, the ſight of men whoſe manners and appearance were ſo different from thoſe of *Europeans*, and the hope of gain from golden regions, which has been always the great incentive to hazard and diſcovery, now began to operate with full force. The deſire of riches and of dominion, which is yet more pleaſing to the fancy, filled the courts of the *Portugueſe* prince with innumerable adventurers from very diſtant parts of *Europe*. Some wanted to be employed in the ſearch after new countries, and ſome to be ſettled in thoſe which had been already found.

Communities now began to be animated by the ſpirit of enterpriſe, and many aſſociations were formed for the equipment of ſhips, and the acquiſition of the riches of diſtant regions, which perhaps were always ſuppoſed to be more wealthy, as more remote. Theſe undertakers agreed to pay the prince a fifth part of the profit, ſometimes a greater

Digitized by Google

ſhare, and ſent out the armament at their own expenſe.

The city of *Lagos* was the firſt that carried on this deſign by contribution. The inhabitants fitted out ſix veſſels, under the command of *Lucarot*, one of the prince's houſhold, and ſoon after fourteen more were furniſhed for the ſame purpoſe, under the ſame commander; to thoſe were added many belonging to private men, ſo that in a ſhort time twenty-ſix ſhips put to ſea in queſt of whatever fortune ſhould preſent.

The ſhips of *Lagos* were ſoon ſeparated by foul weather, and the reſt, taking each its own courſe, ſtopped at different parts of the *African* coaſt, from Cape *Blanco* to Cape *Verd*. Some of them, in 1444, anchored at *Gomera*, one of the *Canaries*, where they were kindly treated by the inhabitants, who took them into their ſervice againſt the people of the iſle of *Palma*, with whom they were at war; but the *Portugueſe* at their return to *Gomera*, not being made ſo rich as they expected, fell upon their friends, in contempt of all the laws of hoſpitality and ſtipulations of alliance, and, making ſeveral of them priſoners and ſlaves, ſet ſail for *Liſbon*.

The *Canaries* are ſuppoſed to have been known, however imperfectly, to the ancients; but in the confuſion of the ſubſequent ages they were loſt and forgotten, till about the year 1340, the *Biſcayners* found *Lucarot*, and invading it (for to find a new country and invade it has always been the ſame), brought away ſeventy captives, and ſome commodities of the place. *Louis de la Cerda*, count of *Clermont*,

Digitized by Google

Clermont, of the blood royal both of *France* and *Spain*, nephew of *John de la Cerda*, who called himſelf the Prince of Fortune, had once a mind to ſettle in thoſe iſlands, and applying himſelf firſt to the king of *Arragon*, and then to *Clement* VI. was by the pope crowned at *Avignon*, king of the *Canaries*, on condition that he ſhould reduce them to the true religion; but the prince altered his mind, and went into *France* to ſerve againſt the *Engliſh*. The kings both of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, though they did not oppoſe the papal grant, yet complained of it, as made without their knowledge, and in contravention of their rights.

The firſt ſettlement in the *Canaries* was made by *John de Betancour*, a *French* gentleman, for whom his kinſman *Robin de Braquement*, admiral of *France*, begged them, with the title of King, from *Henry* the magnificent of *Caſtile*, to whom he had done eminent ſervices. *John* made himſelf maſter of ſome of the iſles, but could never conquer the grand *Canary*; and having ſpent all that he had, went back to *Europe*, leaving his nephew, *Maſſiot de Betancour*, to take care of his new dominion. *Maſſiot* had a quarrel with the vicar-general, and was likewiſe diſguſted by the long abſence of his uncle, whom the *French* king detained in his ſervice, and being able to keep his ground no longer, he transferred his rights to Don *Henry*, in exchange for ſome diſtricts in the *Madera*, when he ſettled his family.

Don *Henry*, when he had purchaſed thoſe iſlands, ſent thither in 1424 two thouſand five hundred foot, and an hundred and twenty horſe; but the army

Digitized by Google

was too numerous to be maintained by the country. The king of *Caſtile* afterwards claimed them, as conquered by his ſubjects under *Betancour*, and held under the crown of *Caſtile* by fealty and homage; his claim was allowed, and the *Canaries* were reſigned.

It was the conſtant practice of *Henry*'s navigators, when they ſtopped at a deſart iſland, to land cattle upon it, and leave them to breed, where, neither wanting room nor food, they multiplied very faſt, and furniſhed a very commodious ſupply to thoſe who came afterwards to the ſame place. This was imitated in ſome degree by *Anſon*, at the iſle of *Juan Fernandez*.

The iſlands of *Madera*, he not only filled with inhabitants, aſſiſted by artificers of every kind, but procured ſuch plants as ſeemed likely to flouriſh in that climate, and introduced ſugar canes and vines, which afterwards produced a very large revenue.

The trade of *Africa* now began to be profitable, but a great part of the gain aroſe from the ſale of ſlaves, who were annually brought into *Portugal*, by hundreds, as *Lafitau* relates, and without any appearance of indignation or compaſſion; they likewiſe imported gold duſt in ſuch quantities, that *Alphonſus* V. coined it into a new ſpecies of money called Cruſades, which is ſtill continued in *Portugal*.

In time they made their way along the ſouth coaſt of *Africa*, eaſtward to the country of the negroes, whom they found living in tents, without any political inſtitutions, ſupporting life, with very little labour by the milk of their kine, and millet, to which

Digitized by Google

which thoſe who inhabited the coaſt added fiſh dried in the ſun. Having never ſeen the natives or heard of the arts of *Europe*, they gazed with aſtoniſhment on the ſhips when they approached their coaſts, ſometimes thinking them birds, and ſometimes fiſhes, according as their ſails were ſpread or lowered; and ſometimes conceiving them to be only phantoms, which played to and fro in the ocean. Such is the account given by the hiſtorian, perhaps with too much prejudice againſt a negroe's underſtanding; who though he might well wonder at the bulk and ſwiftneſs of the firſt ſhip, would ſcarcely conceive it to be either a bird or a fiſh; but having ſeen many bodies floating in the water, would think it what it really is, a large boat; and if he had no knowledge of any means by which ſeparate pieces of timber may be joined together, would form very wild notions concerning its conſtruction, or perhaps ſuppoſe it to be a hollow trunk of a tree, from ſome country where trees grow to a much greater height and thickneſs than in his own.

When the *Portugueſe* came to land, they increaſed the aſtoniſhment of the poor inhabitants, who ſaw men clad in iron, with thunder and lightning in their hands. They did not underſtand each other, and ſigns are a very imperfect mode of communication even to men of more knowledge than the negroes, ſo that they could not eaſily negociate or traffick: at laſt the *Portugueſe* laid hands on ſome of them to carry them home for a ſample; and their dread and amazement was raiſed, ſays *Lafitau*, to the higheſt pitch, when the *Europeans* fired their cannons and muſkets among them, and

Digitized by Google

and they ſaw their companions fall dead at their feet, without any enemy at hand, or any viſible cauſe of their deſtruction.

On what occaſion, or for what purpoſe, cannons and muſkets were diſcharged among a people harmleſs and ſecure, by ſtrangers who without any right viſited their coaſt, it is not thought neceſſary to inform us. The *Portugueſe* could fear nothing from them, and had therefore no adequate provocation; nor is there any reaſon to believe but that they murdered the negroes in wanton merriment, perhaps only to try how many a volley would deſtroy, or what would be the conſternation of thoſe that ſhould eſcape. We are openly told, that they had the leſs ſcruple concerning their treatment of the ſavage people, becauſe they ſcarcely conſidered them as diſtinct from beaſts; and indeed the practice of all the *European* nations, and among others of the *Engliſh* barbarians that cultivate the ſouthern iſlands of *America*, proves, that this opinion, however abſurd and fooliſh, however wicked and injurious, ſtill continues to prevail. Intereſt and pride harden the heart, and it is in vain to diſpute againſt avarice and power.

By theſe practices the firſt diſcoverers alienated the natives from them; and whenever a ſhip appeared, every one that could fly betook himſelf to the mountains and the woods, ſo that nothing was to be got more than they could ſteal: they ſometimes ſurpriſed a few fiſhers, and made them ſlaves, and did what they could to offend the negroes, and enrich themſelves. This practice of robbery continued till ſome of the negroes who had been enſlaved learned the language

Digitized by Google

language of *Portugal*, ſo as to be able to interpret for their countrymen, and one *John Fernandez* applied himſelf to the negroe tongue.

From this time began ſomething like a regular traffick, ſuch as can ſubſiſt between nations where all the power is on one ſide; and a factory was ſettled in the iſle of *Arguin*, under the protection of a fort. The profit of this new trade was aſſigned for a certain term to *Ferdinando Gomez*; which ſeems to be the common method of eſtabliſhing a trade that is yet too ſmall to engage the care of a nation, and can only be enlarged by that attention which is beſtowed by private men upon private advantage. *Gomez* continued the diſcoveries to *Cape Catherine*, two degrees and a half beyond the line.

In the latter part of the reign of *Alphonſo* V. the ardour of diſcovery was ſomewhat intermitted, and all commercial enterpriſes were interrupted by the wars in which he was engaged with various ſucceſs. But *John* II. who ſucceeded, being fully convinced both of the honour and advantage of extending his dominions in countries hitherto unknown, proſecuted the deſigns of prince *Henry* with the utmoſt vigour, and in a ſhort time added to his other titles, that of king of *Guinea* and of the coaſt of *Africa*.

In 1463, in the third year of the reign of *John* II. died prince *Henry*, the firſt encourager of remote navigation, by whoſe incitement, patronage and example, diſtant nations have been made acquainted with each other, unknown countries have been brought into general view, and the power of *Europe* has been extended to the remoteſt parts of the world. What mankind

Digitized by Google

mankind has loſt and gained by the genius and deſigns of this prince, it would be long to compare, and very difficult to eſtimate. Much knowledge has been acquired, and much cruelty been committed; the belief of religion has been very little propagated, and its laws have been outrageouſly and enormouſly violated. The *Europeans* have ſcarcely viſited any coaſt, but to gratify avarice, and extend corruption; to arrogate dominion without right, and practiſe cruelty without incentive. Happy had it then been for the oppreſſed, if the deſigns of *Henry* had ſlept in his boſom, and ſurely more happy for the oppreſſors. But there is reaſon to hope that out of ſo much evil good may ſometimes be produced; and that the light of the goſpel will at laſt illuminate the ſands of *Africa*, and the deſarts of *America*, though its progreſs cannot but be ſlow, when it is ſo much obſtructed by the lives of chriſtians.

The death of *Henry* did not interrupt the progreſs of king *John*, who was very ſtrict in his injunctions, not only to make diſcoveries, but to ſecure poſſeſſion of the countries that were found. The practice of the firſt navigators was only to raiſe a croſs upon the coaſt, and to carve upon trees the device of Don *Henry*, the name which they thought it proper to give to the new coaſt, and any other information, for thoſe that might happen to follow them; but now they began to erect piles of ſtone with a croſs on the top, and engraved on the ſtone the arms of *Portugal*, the name of the king, and of the commander of the ſhip, with the day and year of the diſcovery. This was accounted ſufficient to prove their claim to the

new

Digitized by Google

new lands; which might be pleaded with juſtice enough againſt any other *Europeans*, and the rights of the original inhabitants where never taken into notice. Of theſe ſtone records, nine more were erected in the reign of king *John*, along the coaſt of *Africa*, as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*.

The fortreſs in the iſle of *Arguin* was finiſhed, and it was found neceſſary to build another at *S. Georgio de la Mina*, a few degrees north of the line, to ſecure the trade of gold duſt, which was chiefly carried on at that place. For this purpoſe a fleet was fitted out of ten large and three ſmaller veſſels, freighted with materials for building the fort, and with proviſions and ammunition for ſix hundred men, of whom one hundred were workmen and labourers. Father *Lafitau* relates, in very particular terms, that theſe ſhips carried hewn ſtones, bricks, and timber, for the fort, ſo that nothing remained but barely to erect it. He does not ſeem to conſider how ſmall a fort could be made out of the lading of ten ſhips.

The command of this fleet was given to Don *Diego d'Azambue*, who ſet ſail *December* 11, 1481, and reaching *La Mina*, *January* 19, 1482, gave immediate notice of his arrival to *Caramanſa*, a petty prince of that part of the country, whom he very earneſtly invited to an immediate conference.

Having received a meſſage of civility from the negroe chief, he landed, and choſe a riſing ground, proper for his intended fortreſs, on which he planted a banner with the arms of *Portugal*, and took poſſeſſion in the name of his maſter. He then raiſed

an

Digitized by Google

an altar at the foot of a great tree, on which maſs was celebrated, the whole aſſembly, ſays *Lafitau*, breaking out into tears of devotion at the proſpect of inviting theſe barbarous nations to the profeſſion of the true faith. Being ſecure of the goodneſs of the end, they had no ſcruple about the means, nor ever conſidered how differently from the primitive martyrs and apoſtles they were attempting to make proſelytes. The firſt propagators of chriſtianity recommended their doctrines by their ſufferings and virtues; they entered no defenceleſs territories with ſwords in their hands; they built no forts upon ground to which they had no right, nor polluted the purity of religion with the avarice of trade, or inſolence of power.

What may ſtill raiſe higher the indignation of a chriſtian mind, this purpoſe of propagating truth appears never to have been ſeriouſly purſued by any *European* nation; no means whether lawful or unlawful, have been practiſed with diligence and perſeverance for the converſion of ſavages. When a fort is built, and a factory eſtabliſhed, there remains no other care than to grow rich. It is ſoon found that ignorance is moſt eaſily kept in ſubjection, and that by enlightening the mind with truth, fraud and uſurpation would be made leſs practicable and leſs ſecure.

In a few days an interview was appointed between *Caramanſa* and *Azambue*. The *Portugueſe* uttered by his interpreter a pompous ſpeech, in which he made the negroe prince large offers of his maſter's friendſhip, exhorting him to embrace the religion of his new ally; and told him, that as they came to form a league

Digitized by Google

a league of friendſhip with him, it was neceſſary that they ſhould build a fort, which might ſerve as a retreat from their common enemies, and in which the *Portugueſe* might be always at hand to lend him aſſiſtance.

The negroe, who ſeemed very well to underſtand what the admiral intended, after a ſhort pauſe, returned an anſwer full of reſpect to the king of *Portugal*, but appeared a little doubtful what to determine with relation to the fort. The commander ſaw his diffidence, and uſed all his art of perſuaſion to overcome it. *Caramanſa*, either induced by hope, or conſtrained by fear, either deſirous to make them friends, or not daring to make them enemies, conſented, with a ſhew of joy, to that which it was not in his power to refuſe; and the new comers began the next day to break the ground for a foundation of a fort.

Within the limit of their intended fortification were ſome ſpots appropriated to ſuperſtitious practices; which the negroes no ſooner perceived in danger of violation by the ſpade and pick-ax, than they ran to arms, and began to interrupt the work. The *Portugueſe* perſiſted in their purpoſe, and there had ſoon been tumult and bloodſhed, had not the admiral, who was at a diſtance to ſuperintend the unlading the materials for the edifice, been informed of the danger. He was told at the ſame time, that the ſupport of their ſuperſtition was only a pretence, and that all their rage might be appeaſed by the preſents which the prince expected, the delay of which had greatly offended him.

The

Digitized by Google

The *Portugueſe* admiral immediately ran to his men, prohibited all violence, and ſtopped the commotion; he then brought out the preſents, and ſpread them with great pomp before the prince; if they were of no great value, they were rare, for the negroes had never ſeen ſuch wonders before; they were therefore received with extaſy, and perhaps the *Portugueſe* derided them for their fondneſs of trifles, without conſidering how many things derive their value only from their ſcarcity; and that gold and rubies would be trifles, if nature had ſcattered them with leſs frugality.

The work was now peaceably continued, and ſuch was the diligence with which the ſtrangers haſtened to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the country, that in twenty days they had ſufficiently fortified themſelves againſt the hoſtility of the negroes. They then proceeded to complete their deſign. A church was built in the place where the firſt altar had been raiſed, on which a maſs was eſtabliſhed to be celebrated for ever, once a day, for the repoſe of the ſoul of *Henry*, the firſt mover of theſe diſcoveries.

In this fort the admiral remained with ſixty ſoldiers, and ſent back the reſt in the ſhips, with gold, ſlaves, and other commodities. It may be obſerved that ſlaves were never forgotten, and that wherever they went, they gratified their pride, if not their avarice, and brought ſome of the natives, when it happened that they brought nothing elſe.

The *Portugueſe* endeavoured to extend their dominions ſtill farther. They had gained ſome knowledge of the *Jaloffs*, a nation inhabiting the coaſt of *Guinea*, between the *Gambia* and *Senegal*. The king

Digitized by Google

king of the *Jaloffs* being vicious and luxurious, committed the care of the government to *Bemoin*, his brother by the mother's ſide, in preference to two other brothers by his father. *Bemoin*, who wanted neither bravery nor prudence, knew that his ſtation was invidious and dangerous, and therefore made an alliance with the *Portugueſe*, and retained them in his defence by liberality and kindneſs. At laſt the king was killed by the contrivance of his brothers, and *Bemoin* was to loſe his power, or maintain it by war.

He had recourſe in this exigence to his great ally the king of *Portugal*, who promiſed to ſupport him, on condition that he ſhould become a chriſtian, and ſent an ambaſſador, accompanied with miſſionaries. *Bemoin* promiſed all that was required, objecting only that the time of a civil war was not a proper ſeaſon for a change of religion, which would alienate his adherents; but ſaid, that when he was once peaceably eſtabliſhed, he would not only embrace the true religion himſelf, but would endeavour the converſion of the kingdom.

This excuſe was admitted, and *Bemoin* delayed his converſion for a year, renewing his promiſe from time to time. But the war was unſucceſsful, trade was at a ſtand, and *Bemoin* was not able to pay the money which he had borrowed of the *Portugueſe* merchants, who ſent intelligence to *Liſbon* of his delays, and received an order from the king, commanding them, under ſevere penalties, to return home.

Bemoin here ſaw his ruin approaching, and hoping that money would pacify all reſentment, borrowed

Digitized by Google

of his friends a ſum ſufficient to diſcharge his debts and finding that even this enticement would not delay the departue of the *Portugueſe*, he embarked his nephew in their ſhips, with an hundred ſlaves, whom he preſented to the king of *Portugal*, to ſolicit his aſſiſtance. The effect of this embaſſy he could not ſtay to know; for being ſoon after depoſed, he ſought ſhelter in the fortreſs of *Arguin*, whence he took ſhipping for *Portugal* with twenty-five of his principal followers.

The king of *Portugal* pleaſed his own vanity and that of his ſubjects, by receiving him with great ſtate and magnificence, as a mighty monarch who had fled to an ally for ſuccour in misfortune. All the lords and ladies of the court were aſſembled, and *Bemoin* was conducted with a ſplendid attendance into the hall of audience, where the king roſe from his throne to welcome him. *Bemoin* then made a ſpeech with great eaſe and dignity, repreſenting his unhappy ſtate, and imploring the favour of his powerful ally. The king was touched with his affliction, and ſtruck by his wiſdom.

The converſion of *Bemoin* was much deſired by the king; and it was therefore immediately propoſed to him that he ſhould become a chriſtian. Eccleſiaſticks were ſent to inſtruct him; and having now no more obſtacles from intereſt, he was eaſily perſuaded to declare himſelf whatever would pleaſe thoſe on whom he now depended. He was baptized on the third day of *December* 1489, in the palace of the queen, with great magnificence, and named *John* after the king.

Some

Digitized by Google

Some time was ſpent in feaſts and ſports on this great occaſion, and the negroes ſignaliſed themſelves by many feats of agility, far ſurpaſſing the power of *Europeans*, who having more helps of art, are leſs diligent to cultivate the qualities of nature. In the mean time twenty large ſhips were fitted out, well manned, ſtored with ammunition, and laden with materials neceſſary for the erection of a fort. With this powerful armament were ſent a great number of miſſionaries under the direction of *Alvarez* the king's confeſſor. The command of this force, which filled the coaſt of *Africa* with terror, was given to *Pedro Vaz d'Acugna*, ſurnamed *Biſagu*; who ſoon after they had landed, not being well pleaſed with his expedition, put an end to its inconveniencies by ſtabbing *Bemoin* ſuddenly to the heart. The king heard of this outrage with great ſorrow, but did not attempt to puniſh the murderer.

The king's concern for the reſtoration of *Bemoin* was not the mere effect of kindneſs, he hoped by his help to facilitate greater deſigns. He now began to form hopes of finding a way to the *Eaſt Indies*, and of enriching his country by that gainful commerce; this he was encouraged to believe practicable, by a map which the Moors had given to prince *Henry*, and which ſubſequent diſcoveries have ſhewn to be ſufficiently near to exactneſs, where a paſſage round the ſouth-eaſt part of *Africa* was evidently deſcribed.

The king had another ſcheme yet more likely to engage curioſity, and not irreconcileable with his intereſt. The world had for ſome time been filled with the report of a powerful chriſtian prince called

Digitized by Google

Preſter John, whoſe country was unknown, and whom ſome, after *Paulus Venetus*, ſuppoſed to reign in the midſt of *Aſia*, and others in the depth of *Ethiopia*, between the ocean and Red-ſea. The account of the *African* chriſtians was confirmed by ſome *Abyſſinians* who had travelled into *Spain*, and by ſome friars that had viſited the holy land; and the king was extremely deſirous of their correſpondence and alliance.

Some obſcure intelligence had been obtained, which made it ſeem probable that a way might be found from the countries lately diſcovered, to thoſe of this far-famed monarch. In 1486, an ambaſſador came from the king of *Bemin* to deſire that preachers might be ſent to inſtruct him and his ſubjects in the true religion. He related that in the inland country, three hundred and fifty leagues eaſtward from *Bemin*, was a mighty monarch called *Ogane*, who had juriſdiction both ſpiritual and temporal over other kings; that the king of *Bemin* and his neighbours, at their acceſſion, ſent ambaſſadors to him with rich preſents, and received from him the inveſtiture of their dominions, and the marks of ſovereignty, which were a kind of ſceptre, a helmet, and a latten croſs, without which they could not be conſidered as lawful kings; that this great prince was never ſeen but on the day of audience, and then held out one of his feet to the ambaſſador, who kiſſed it with great reverence, and who at his departure had a croſs of latten hung on his neck, which ennobled him thenceforward, and exempted him from all ſervile offices.

Bemoin

Digitized by Google

Bemoin had likewiſe told the king, that to the eaſt of the kingdom of *Tombut*, there was among other princes, one that was neither Mahometan nor idolater, but who ſeemed to profeſs a religion nearly reſembling the chriſtian. Theſe informations compared with each other, and with the current accounts of *Preſter John*, induced the king to an opinion, which, though formed ſomewhat at hazard, is ſtill believed to be right, that by paſſing up the river *Senegal* his dominions would be found. It was therefore ordered that when the fortreſs was finiſhed, an attempt ſhould be made to paſs upward to the ſource of the river. The deſign failed then, and has never yet ſucceeded.

Other ways likewiſe were tried of penetrating to the kingdom of *Preſter John*, for the king reſolved to leave neither ſea nor land unſearched till he ſhould be found. The two meſſengers who were ſent firſt on this deſign, went to *Jeruſalem*, and then returned, being perſuaded that, for want of underſtanding the language of the country, it would be vain or impoſſible to travel farther. Two more were then diſpatched, one of whom was *Pedro de Covillan*, the other *Alphonſo de Pavia*; they paſſed from *Naples* to *Alexandria*, and then travelled to *Cairo*, from whence they went to *Aden*, a town of *Arabia*, on the Red-ſea, near its mouth. From *Aden*, *Pavia* ſet ſail for *Ethiopia*, and *Covillan* for the *Indies*. *Covillan* viſited *Canavar*, *Calicut*, and *Goa* in the *Indies*, and *Sofula* in the eaſtern *Africa*, thence he returned to *Aden*, and then to *Cairo* where he had agreed to meet *Pavia*. At *Cairo* he was informed that *Pavia* was dead, but he met with two *Portugueſe* Jews, one of whom had

Digitized by Google

given the king an account of the ſituation and trade of *Ormus*: they brought orders to *Covillan*, that he ſhould ſend one of them home with the journal of his travels, and go to *Ormus* with the other.

Covillan obeyed the orders, ſending an exact account of his adventures to *Liſbon*, and proceeding with the other meſſenger to *Ormus*; where having made ſufficient enquiry, he ſent his companion homewards with the caravans that were going to *Aleppo*, and embarking once more on the Red-ſea, arrived in time at *Abyſſinia*, and found the prince whom he had ſought ſo long, and with ſuch danger.

Two ſhips were ſent out upon the ſame ſearch, of which *Bartholomew Diaz* had the chief command; they were attended by a ſmaller veſſel laden with proviſions, that they might not return upon pretence of want either felt or feared.

Navigation was now brought nearer to perfection. The *Portugueſe* claim the honour of many inventions by which the ſailor is aſſiſted, and which enable him to leave ſight of land, and commit himſelf to the boundleſs ocean. *Diaz* had orders to proceed beyond the river *Zaire*, where *Diego Can* had ſtopped, to build monuments of his diſcoveries, and to leave upon the coaſts negroe men and women well inſtructed, who might inquire after *Preſter John*, and fill the natives with reverence for the *Portugueſe*.

Diaz, with much oppoſition from his crew, whoſe mutinies he repreſſed, partly by ſoftneſs and partly by ſteadineſs, ſailed on till he reached the utmoſt point of *Africa*, which from the bad weather that he met there, he called *Caba Tormentoſo*, or the Cape of

Digitized by Google

Storms. He would have gone forward, but his crew forced him to return. In his way back he met the *Victualler*, from which he had been parted nine months before; of the nine men which were in it at the ſeparation, ſix had been killed by the negroes, and of the three remaining, one died for joy at the ſight of his friends. *Diaz* returned to *Liſbon* in *December* 1487, and gave an account of his voyage to the king, who ordered the Cape of Storms to be called thenceforward *Cabo de Buena Eſperanza*, or the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Some time before the expedition of *Diaz*, the river *Zaire* and the kingdom of *Congo* had been diſcovered by *Diego Can*, who found a nation of negroes who ſpoke a language which thoſe that were in his ſhips could not underſtand. He landed, and the natives, whom he expected to fly like the other inhabitants of the coaſt, met them with confidence, and treated them with kindneſs; but *Diego* finding that they could not underſtand each other, ſeized ſome of their chiefs, and carried them to *Portugal*, leaving ſome of his own people in their room to learn the language of *Congo*.

The negroes were ſoon pacified, and the *Portugueſe* left to their mercy were well treated; and as they by degrees grew able to make themſelves underſtood, recommended themſelves, their nation, and their religion. The king of *Portugal* ſent *Diego* back in a very ſhort time with the negroes whom he had forced away; and when they were ſet ſafe on ſhore, the king of *Congo* conceived ſo much eſteem for *Diego*, that he ſent one of thoſe who had returned, back again in the ſhip to

Digitized by Google

Liſbon, with two young men diſpatched as ambaſſadors, to deſire inſtructors to be ſent for the converſion of his kingdom.

The ambaſſadors were honourably received, and baptized with great pomp, and a fleet was immediately fitted out for *Congo*, under the command of *Gonſalvo Sorza*, who dying in his paſſage, was ſucceded in authority by his nephew *Roderigo*.

When they came to land, the king's uncle, who commanded the province, immediately requeſted to be ſolemnly initiated into the chriſtian religion, which was granted to him and his young ſon, on *Eaſter* day 1491. The father was named *Manuel*, and the ſon *Antonio*. Soon afterwards the king, queen, and eldeſt prince, received at the font the names of *John*, *Eleanor*, and *Alphonſo*; and a war breaking out, the whole army was admitted to the rites of chriſtianity, and then ſent againſt the enemy. They returned victorious, but ſoon forgot their faith, and formed a conſpiracy to reſtore paganiſm; a powerful oppoſition was raiſed by infidels and apoſtates, headed by one of the king's younger ſons; and the miſſionaries had been deſtroyed had not *Alphonſo* pleaded for them and for chriſtianity.

The enemies of religion now became the enemies of *Alphonſo*, whom they accuſed to his father of diſloyalty. His mother, queen *Eleanor*, gained time by one artifice after another, till the king was calmed; he then heard the cauſe again, declared his ſon innocent, and puniſhed his accuſers with death.

The king died ſoon after, and the throne was diſputed by *Alphonſo*, ſupported by the chriſtians,

Digitized by Google

and *Aquitimo* his brother, followed by the infidels. A battle was fought, *Aquitimo* was taken and put to death, and chriſtianity was for a time eſtabliſhed in *Congo*; but the nation has relapſed into its former follies.

Such was the ſtate of the *Portugueſe* navigation, when in 1492, *Columbus* made the daring and proſperous voyage, which gave a new world to *European* curioſity and *European* cruelty. He had offered his propoſal, and declared his expectations to king *John* of *Portugal*, who had ſlighted him as a fanciful and raſh projector, that promiſed what he had not reaſonable hopes to perform. *Columbus* had ſolicited other princes, and had been repulſed with the ſame indignity; at laſt *Iſabella* of *Arragon* furniſhed him with ſhips, and having found *America*, he entered the mouth of the *Tagus* in his return, and ſhewed the natives of the new country. When he was admitted to the king's preſence, he acted and talked with ſo much haughtineſs, and reflected on the neglect which he had undergone with ſo much acrimony, that the courtiers who ſaw their prince inſulted, offered to deſtroy him; but the king, who knew that he deſerved the reproaches that had been uſed, and who now ſincerely regretted his incredulity, would ſuffer no violence to be offered him, but dimiſſed him with preſents and with honours.

The *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards* became now jealous of each other's claim to countries which neither had yet ſeen; and the Pope, to whom they appealed, divided the new world between them by a line drawn from north to ſouth, a hundred leagues weſtward from *Cape Verd* and the *Azores*, giving all that lies weſt

Digitized by Google

weſt from that line to the *Spaniards*, and all that lies eaſt to the *Portugueſe*. This was no ſatisfactory diviſion, for the eaſt and weſt muſt meet at laſt, but that time was then at a great diſtance.

According to this grant, the *Portugueſe* continued their diſcoveries eaſtward, and became maſters of much of the coaſt both of *Africa* and the *Indies*; but they ſeized much more than they could occupy, and, while they were under the dominion of *Spain*, loſt the greater part of their *Indian* territories.

Digitized by Google

THE

PREFACE

TO THE

PRECEPTOR:

CONTAINING

A GENERAL PLAN OF EDUCATION.

THE importance of Education is a point ſo generally underſtood and confeſſed, that it would be of little uſe to attempt any new proof or illuſtration of its neceſſity and advantages.

At a time when ſo many ſchemes of education have been projected, ſo many propoſals offered to the Publick, ſo many ſchools opened for general knowledge, and ſo many lectures in particular ſciences attended; at a time when mankind ſeems intent rather upon familiariſing than enlarging the ſeveral arts; and every age, ſex, and profeſſion, is invited to an acquaintance with thoſe ſtudies, which were formerly ſuppoſed acceſſible only to ſuch as had devoted themſelves to literary leiſure, and dedicated their powers to philoſophical enquiries; it ſeems rather requiſite that an apology ſhould be made for any further attempt to ſmooth a path

Digitized by Google

path ſo frequently beaten, or to recommend attainments ſo ardently purſued, and ſo officiouſly directed.

That this general deſire may not be fruſtrated, our ſchools ſeem yet to want ſome book, which may excite curioſity by its variety, encourage diligence by its facility, and reward application by its uſefulneſs. In examining the treatiſes hitherto offered to the youth of this nation, there appeared none that did not fail in one or other of theſe eſſential qualities; none that were not either unpleaſing, or abſtruſe, or crowded with learning, very rarely applicable to the purpoſes of common life.

Every man, who has been engaged in teaching, knows with how much difficulty youthful minds are confined to cloſe application, and how readily they deviate to any thing, rather than attend to that which is impoſed as a taſk. That this diſpoſition, when it becomes inconſiſtent with the forms of education, is to be checked, will be readily granted; but ſince, though it may be in ſome degree obviated, it cannot wholly be ſuppreſſed, it is ſurely rational to turn it to advantage, by taking care that the mind ſhall never want objects on which its faculties may be uſefully employed. It is not impoſſible, that this reſtleſs deſire of novelty, which gives ſo much trouble to the teacher, may be often the ſtruggle of the underſtanding ſtarting from that to which it is not by nature adapted, and travelling in ſearch of ſomething on which it may fix with greater ſatisfaction. For without ſuppoſing each man particularly marked out by his genius for particular performances, it may be eaſily conceived, that when a numerous claſs of boys is confined

Digitized by Google

fined indiſcriminately to the ſame forms of compoſition, the repetition of the ſame words, or the explication of the ſame ſentiments, the employment muſt, either by nature or accident, be leſs ſuitable to ſome than others; that the ideas to be contemplated may be too difficult for the apprehenſion of one, and too obvious for that of another: they may be ſuch as ſome underſtandings cannot reach, though others look down upon them as below their regard. Every mind in its progreſs through the different ſtages of ſcholaſtick learning, muſt be often in one of theſe conditions, muſt either flag with the labour, or grow wanton with the facility of the work aſſigned; and in either ſtate it naturally turns aſide from the track before it. Wearineſs looks out for relief, and lieſure for employment, and ſurely it is rational to indulge the wanderings of both. For the faculties which are too lightly burthened with the buſineſs of the day, may with great propriety add to it ſome other enquiry; and he that finds himſelf over wearied by a taſk, which, perhaps, with all his efforts, he is not able to perform, is undoubtedly to be juſtified in addicting himſelf rather to eaſier ſtudies, and endeavouring to quit that which is above his attainment, for that which nature has not made him incapable of purſuing with advantage.

That therefore this roving curioſity may not be unſatisfied, it ſeems neceſſary to ſcatter in its way ſuch allurements as may withhold it from an uſeleſs and unbounded diſſipation; ſuch as may regulate it without violence, and direct it without reſtraint; ſuch as may ſuit every inclination, and fit every capacity; may employ

Digitized by Google

ploy the ſtronger genius, by operations of reaſon, and engage the leſs active or forcible mind, by ſupplying it with eaſy knowledge, and obviating that deſpondence, which quickly prevails, when nothing appears but a ſucceſſion of difficulties, and one labour only ceaſes that another may be impoſed.

A book intended thus to correſpond with all diſpoſitions, and afford entertainment for minds of different powers, is neceſſarily to contain treatiſes on different ſubjects. As it is deſigned for ſchools, though for the higher claſſes, it is confined wholly to ſuch parts of knowledge as young minds may comprehend; and as it is drawn up for Readers yet unexperienced in life, and unable to diſtinguiſh the uſeful from the oſtentatious or unneceſſary parts of ſcience, it is requiſite that a very nice diſtinction ſhould be made, that nothing unprofitable ſhould be admitted for the ſake of pleaſure, nor any arts of attraction neglected, that might fix the attention upon more important ſtudies.

Theſe conſiderations produced the book which is here offered to the Publick, as better adapted to the great deſign of pleaſing by inſtruction, than any which has hitherto been admitted into our ſeminaries of literature. There are not indeed wanting in the world compendiums of ſcience, but many were written at a time when philoſophy was imperfect, as that of *G. Valla*; many contain only naked ſchemes, or ſynoptical tables, as that of *Stierius*; and others are too large and voluminous, as that of *Alſtedius*; and, what is not to be conſidered as the leaſt objection, they are generally in a language, which, to boys, is more difficult

Digitized by Google

ficult than the ſubject; and it is too hard a taſk to be condemned to learn a new ſcience in an unknown tongue. As in life, ſo in ſtudy, it is dangerous to do more things than one at a time; and the mind is not to be haraſſed with unneceſſary obſtructions, in a way, of which the natural and unavoidable aſperity is ſuch as too frequently produces deſpair.

If the language however had been the only objection to any of the volumes already extant, the ſchools might have been ſupplied at a ſmall expenſe by a tranſlation; but none could be found that was not ſo defective, redundant, or erroneous, as to be of more danger than uſe. It was neceſſary then to examine, whether upon every ſingle ſcience there was not ſome treatiſe written for the uſe of ſcholars, which might be adapted to this deſign, ſo that a collection might be made from different authors, without the neceſſity of writing new ſyſtems. This ſearch was not wholly without ſucceſs; for two authors were found, whoſe performances might be admitted with little alteration. But ſo widely does this plan differ from all others, ſo much has the ſtate of many kinds of learning been changed, or ſo unfortunately have they hitherto been cultivated, that none of the other ſubjects were explained in ſuch a manner as was now required; and therefore neither care nor expenſe has been ſpared to obtain new lights, and procure to this book the merit of an original.

With what judgment the deſign has been formed, and with what ſkill it has been executed, the learned world is now to determine. But before ſentence ſhall paſs, it is proper to explain more fully what has

Digitized by Google

has been intended, that cenſure may not be incurred by the omiſſion of that which the original plan did not comprehend; to declare more particularly who they are to whoſe inſtructions theſe treatiſes pretend, that a charge of arrogance and preſumption may be obviated; to lay down the reaſons which directed the choice of the ſeveral ſubjects; and to explain more minutely the manner in which each particular part of theſe volumes is to be uſed.

The title has already declared, that theſe volumes are particularly intended for the uſe of ſchools, and therefore it has been the care of the authors to explain the ſeveral ſciences, of which they have treated, in the moſt familiar manner; for the mind uſed only to common expreſſions, and inaccurate ideas, does not ſuddenly conform itſelf to ſcholaſtick modes of reaſoning, or conceive the nice diſtinctions of a ſubtile philoſophy, and may be properly initiated in ſpeculative ſtudies by an introduction like this, in which the groſſneſs of vulgar conception is avoided, without the obſervation of metaphyſical exactneſs. It is obſerved, that in the courſe of the natural world no change is inſtantaneous, but all its viciſſitudes are gradual and ſlow; the motions of intellect proceed in the like imperceptible progreſſion, and proper degrees of tranſition from one ſtudy to another are therefore neceſſary; but let it not be charged upon the writers of this book, that they intended to exhibit more than the dawn of knowledge, or pretended to raiſe in the mind any nobler product than the bloſſoms of ſcience, which more powerful inſtitutions may ripen into fruit.

For

Digitized by Google

For this reaſon it muſt not be expected, that in the following pages ſhould be found a complete circle of the ſciences; or that any authors, now deſervedly eſteemed, ſhould be rejected to make way for what is here offered. It was intended by the means of theſe precepts, not to deck the mind with ornaments, but to protect it from nakedneſs; not to enrich it with affluence, but to ſupply it with neceſſaries. The *enquiry* therefore was not what degrees of knowledge are deſirable, but what are in moſt ſtations of life indiſpenſably required; and the *choice* was determined not by the ſplendor of any part of literature, but by the extent of its uſe, and the inconvenience which its neglect was likely to produce.

I. The prevalence of this conſideration appears in the firſt part, which is appropriated to the humble purpoſes of teaching to *read*, and *ſpeak*, and *write letters*; an attempt of little magnificence, but in which no man needs to bluſh for having employed his time, if honour be eſtimated by uſe. For precepts of this kind, however neglected, extend their importance as far as men are found who communicate their thoughts one to another; they are equally uſeful to the higheſt and the loweſt; they may often contribute to make ignorance leſs inelegant; and may it not be obſerved, that they are frequently wanted for the embelliſhment even of learning?

In order to ſhew the proper uſe of this part, which conſiſts of various exemplifications of ſuch differences of ſtyle as require correſpondent diverſities of pronunciation, it will be proper to inform the ſcholar, that there are in general three forms of ſtyle, each of

Digitized by Google

which demands its particular mode of elocution: the *familiar*, the *ſolemn*, and the *pathetick*. That in the *familiar*, he that reads is only to talk with a paper in his hand, and to indulge himſelf in all the lighter liberties of voice, as when he reads the common articles of a news-paper, or a curſory letter of intelligence or buſineſs. That the *ſolemn* ſtyle, ſuch as that of a ſerious narrative, exacts an uniform ſteadineſs of ſpeech, equal, clear, and calm. That for the *pathetick*, ſuch as an animated oration, it is neceſſary the voice be regulated by the ſenſe, varying and riſing with the paſſions. Theſe rules, which are the moſt general, admit a great number of ſubordinate obſervations, which muſt be particularly adapted to every ſcholar; for it is obſervable, that though very few read well, yet every man errs in a different way. But let one remark never be omitted: inculcate ſtrongly to every ſcholar the danger of copying the voice of another; an attempt which, though it has been often repeated, is always unſucceſsful.

The importance of writing letters with propriety juſtly claims to be conſidered with care, ſince, next to the power of pleaſing with his preſence, every man would wiſh to be able to give delight at a diſtance. This great art ſhould be diligently taught, the rather, becauſe of thoſe letters which are moſt uſeful, and by which the general buſineſs of life is tranſacted, there are no *examples* eaſily to be found. It ſeems the general fault of thoſe who undertake this part of education, that they propoſe for the exerciſe of their ſcholars, occaſions which rarely hap-

Digitized by Google

pen; ſuch as congratulations and condolences, and neglect thoſe without which life cannot proceed. It is poſſible to paſs many years without the neceſſity of writing panegyricks or epithalamiums; but every man has frequent occaſion to ſtate a contract, or demand a debt, or make a narrative of ſome minute incidents of common life. On theſe ſubjects, therefore, young perſons ſhould be taught to think juſtly, and write clearly, neatly, and ſuccinctly, leſt they come from ſchool into the world without any acquaintance with common affairs, and ſtand idle ſpectators of mankind, in expectation that ſome great event will give them an opportunity to exert their rhetorick.

II. The ſecond place is aſſigned to *geometry*; on the uſefulneſs of which it is unneceſſary to expatiate in an age when mathematical ſtudies have ſo much engaged the attention of all claſſes of men. This treatiſe is one of thoſe which have been borrowed, being a tranſlation from the work of Mr. *Le Clerc*; and is not intended as more than the firſt initiation. In delivering the fundamental principles of *geometry*, it is neceſſary to proceed by ſlow ſteps, that each propoſition may be fully underſtood before another is attempted. For which purpoſe it is not ſufficient, that when a queſtion is aſked in the words of the book, the ſcholar likewiſe can in the words of the book return the proper anſwer; for this may be only an act of memory, not of underſtanding: it is always proper to vary the words of the queſtion, to place the propoſition in different points of view, and to require of the learner an explanation in his own terms, in-

Digitized by Google

forming him however when they are improper. By this method the ſcholar will become cautious and attentive, and the maſter will know with certainty the degree of his proficiency. Yet, though this rule is generally right, I cannot but recommend a precept of *Pardie*'s, that when the ſtudent cannot be made to comprehend ſome particular part, it ſhould be, for that time, laid aſide, till new light ſhall ariſe from ſubſequent obſervation.

When this compendium is completely underſtood, the ſcholar may proceed to the peruſal of *Tacquet*, afterwards of *Euclid* himſelf, and then of the modern improvers of *geometry*, ſuch as *Barrow*, *Keil*, and Sir *Iſaac Newton*.

III. The neceſſity of ſome acquaintance with *geography* and *aſtronomy* will not be diſputed. If the pupil is born to the eaſe of a large fortune, no part of learning is more neceſſary to him than the knowledge of the ſituation of nations, on which their intereſts generally depend; if he is dedicated to any of the learned profeſſions, it is ſcarcely poſſible that he will not be obliged to apply himſelf in ſome part of his life to theſe ſtudies, as no other branch of literature can be fully comprehended without them; if he is deſigned for the arts of commerce or agriculture, ſome general acquaintance with theſe ſciences will be found extremely uſeful to him; in a word, no ſtudies afford more extenſive, more wonderful, or more pleaſing ſcenes; and therefore there can be no ideas impreſſed upon the ſoul, which can more conduce to its future entertainment.

In

Digitized by Google

In the purſuit of theſe ſciences, it will be proper to proceed with the ſame gradation and caution as in *geometry*. And it is always of uſe to decorate the nakedneſs of ſcience, by interſperſing ſuch obſervations and narratives as may amuſe the mind and excite curioſity. Thus, in explaining the ſtate of the polar regions, it might be fit to read the narrative of the *Engliſhmen* that wintered in *Greenland*, which will make young minds ſufficiently curious after the cauſe of ſuch a length of night, and intenſeneſs of cold; and many ſtratagems of the ſame kind might be practiſed to intereſt them in all parts of their ſtudies, and call in their paſſions to animate their inquiries. When they have read this treatiſe, it will be proper to recommend to them *Varenius*'s Geography, and *Gregory*'s Aſtronomy.

IV. The ſtudy of *chronology* and *hiſtory* ſeems to be one of the moſt natural delights of the human mind. It is not eaſy to live without inquiring by what means every thing was brought into the ſtate in which we now behold it, or without finding in the mind ſome deſire of being informed concerning the generations of mankind that have been in poſſeſſion of the world before us, whether they were better or worſe than ourſelves; or what good or evil has been derived to us from their ſchemes, practices, and inſtitutions. Theſe are inquiries which *hiſtory* alone can ſatisfy; and *hiſtory* can only be made intelligible by ſome knowledge of *chronology*, the ſcience by which events are ranged in their order, and the periods of computation are ſettled; and which therefore aſſiſts

Digitized by Google

the memory by method, and enlightens the judgment by ſhewing the dependence of one tranſaction on another. Accordingly it ſhould be diligently inculcated to the ſcholar, that unleſs he fixes in his mind ſome idea of the time in which each man of eminence lived, and each action was performed, with ſome part of the contemporary hiſtory of the reſt of the world, he will conſume his life in uſeleſs reading, and darken his mind with a crowd of unconnected events; his memory will be perplexed with diſtant tranſactions reſembling one another, and his reflections be like a dream in a fever, buſy and turbulent, but confuſed and indiſtinct.

The technical part of chronology, or the art of computing and adjuſting time, as it is very difficult, ſo it is not of abſolute neceſſity, but ſhould however be taught, ſo far as it can be learned without the loſs of thoſe hours which are required for attainments of nearer concern. The ſtudent may join with this treatiſe *Le Clerc*'s *Compendium of Hiſtory*; and afterwards may, for the hiſtorical part of *chronology*, procure *Helvicus*'s and *Iſaacſon*'s Tables; and, if he is deſirous of attaining the technical part, may firſt peruſe *Holder*'s *Account of Time*, *Hearne*'s *Ductor Hiſtoricus*, *Strauchius*, the firſt part of *Petavius*'s *Rationarium Temporum*; and at length *Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum*. And for inſtruction in the method of his hiſtorical ſtudies, he may conſult *Hearne*'s *Ductor Hiſtoricus*, *Wheare*'s Lectures, *Rawlinſon*'s *Directions for the Study of Hiſtory*; and for eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, *Cave* and *Dupin*, *Baronius* and *Fleury*.

V. *Rhetorick*

Digitized by Google

V. *Rhetorick* and *poetry* ſupply life with its higheſt intellectual pleaſures; and in the hands of virtue are of great uſe for the impreſſion of juſt ſentiments, and recommendation of illuſtrious examples. In the practice of theſe great arts, ſo much more is the effect of nature than the effect of education, that nothing is attempted here but to teach the mind ſome general heads of obſervation, to which the beautiful paſſages of the beſt writers may commonly be reduced. In the uſe of this it is not proper that the teacher ſhould confine himſelf to the examples before him; for by that method he will never enable his pupils to make juſt application of the rules; but, having inculcated the true meaning of each figure, he ſhould require them to exemplify it by their own obſervations, pointing to them the poem, or, in longer works, the book or canto in which an example may be found, and leaving them to diſcover the particular paſſage by the light of the rules which they have lately learned.

For a farther progreſs in theſe ſtudies, they may conſult *Quintilian* and *Voſſius*'s Rhetorick; the art of poetry will be beſt learned from *Boſſu* and *Bohours* in *French*, together with *Dryden*'s Eſſays and Prefaces, the critical Papers of *Addiſon*, *Spence* on *Pope*'s *Odyſſey*, and *Trapp*'s *Prælectiones Poeticæ*; but a more accurate and philoſophical account is expected from a commentary upon *Ariſtotle*'s Art of Poetry, with which the literature of this nation will be in a ſhort time augmented.

VI. With regard to the practice of *drawing*, it is not neceſſary to give any directions, the uſe of

Digitized by Google

the treatiſe being only to teach the proper method of imitating the figures which are annexed. It will be proper to incite the ſcholars to induſtry, by ſhewing in other books the uſe of the art, and informing them how much it aſſiſts the apprehenſion, and relieves the memory; and if they are obliged ſometimes to *write* deſcriptions of engines, utenſils, or any complex pieces of workmanſhip, they will more fully apprehend the neceſſity of an expedient which ſo happily ſupplies the defects of language, and enables the eye to conceive what cannot be conveyed to the mind any other way. When they have read this treatiſe, and practiſed upon theſe figures, their theory may be improved by the *Jeſuit's Perſpective*, and their manual operations by other figures which may be eaſily procured.

VII. *Logick*, or the art of arranging and connecting ideas, of forming and examining arguments, is univerſally allowed to be an attainment in the utmoſt degree worthy the ambition of that being whoſe higheſt honour is to be endued with reaſon; but it is doubted whether that ambition has yet been gratified, and whether the powers of ratiocination have been much improved by any ſyſtems of art, or methodical inſtitutions. The *logick* which for ſo many ages kept poſſeſſion of the ſchools, has at laſt been condemned as a mere art of wrangling, of very little uſe in the purſuit of truth; and later writers have contented themſelves with giving an account of the operations of the mind, marking the various ſtages of her progreſs, and giving ſome general rules for the regulation of her conduct. The method of theſe writers is here followed; but

Digitized by Google

but without a ſervile adherence to any, and with endeavours to make improvements upon all. This work, however laborious, has yet been fruitleſs, if there be truth in an obſervation very frequently made, that logicians out of the ſchool do not reaſon better than men unaſſiſted by thoſe lights which their ſcience is ſuppoſed to beſtow. It is not to be doubted but that logicians may be ſometimes overborne by their paſſions, or blinded by their prejudices; and that a man may reaſon ill, as he may act ill, not becauſe he does not know what is right, but becauſe he does not regard it; yet it is no more the fault of his art that it does not direct him when his attention is withdrawn from it, than it is the defect of his ſight that he miſſes his way when he ſhuts his eyes. Againſt this cauſe of error there is no proviſion to be made, otherwiſe than by inculcating the value of truth, and the neceſſity of conquering the paſſions. But *logick* may likewiſe fail to produce its effects upon common occaſions, for want of being frequently and familiarly applied, till its precepts may direct the mind imperceptibly, as the fingers of a muſician are regulated by his knowledge of the tune. This readineſs of recollection is only to be procured by frequent impreſſion; and therefore it will be proper, when *logick* has been once learned, the teacher take frequent occaſion, in the moſt eaſy and familiar converſation, to obſerve when its rules are preſerved, and when they are broken; and that afterwards he read no authors, without exacting of his pupil an account of every remarkable exemplification or breach of the laws of reaſoning.

When

Digitized by Google

When this ſyſtem has been digeſted, if it be thought neceſſary to proceed farther in the ſtudy of method, it will be proper to recommend *Crouſaz*, *Watts*, *Le Clerc*, *Wolfius*, and *Locke*'s *Eſſay on Human Underſtanding*; and if there be imagined any neceſſity of adding the peripatetick logick, which has been perhaps condemned without a candid trial, it will be convenient to proceed to *Sanderſon*, *Wallis*, *Crackanthorp*, and *Ariſtotle*.

VIII. To excite a curioſity after the works of God, is the chief deſign of the ſmall ſpecimen of *natural hiſtory* inſerted in this collection; which, however, may be ſufficient to put the mind in motion, and in ſome meaſure to direct its ſteps; but its effects may eaſily be improved by a philoſophick maſter, who will every day find a thouſand opportunities of turning the attention of his ſcholars to the contemplation of the objects that ſurround them, of laying open the wonderful art with which every part of the univerſe is formed, and the providence which governs the vegetable and animal creation. He may lay before them the *Religious Philoſopher*, *Ray*, *Derham*'s *Phyſico-Theology*, together with the *Spectacle de la Nature*; and in time recommend to their peruſal *Rondoletius* and *Aldrovandus*.

IX. But how much ſoever the reaſon may be ſtrengthened by *logick*, or the conceptions of the mind enlarged by the ſtudy of nature, it is neceſſary the man be not ſuffered to dwell upon them ſo long as to neglect the ſtudy of himſelf, the knowledge of his own ſtation in the ranks of being, and his various relations to the innumerable multitudes which ſurround him,

Digitized by Google

him, and with which his Maker has ordained him to be united for the reception and communication of happineſs. To conſider theſe aright is of the greateſt importance, ſince from theſe ariſe duties which he cannot neglect. *Ethics*, or *morality*, therefore, is one of the ſtudies which ought to begin with the firſt glimpſe of reaſon, and only end with life itſelf. Other acquiſitions are merely temporary benefits, except as they contribute to illuſtrate the knowledge, and confirm the practice of morality and piety, which extend their influence beyond the grave, and increaſe our happineſs through endleſs duration.

This great ſcience, therefore, muſt be inculcated with care and aſſiduity, ſuch as its importance ought to incite in reaſonable minds; and for the proſecution of this deſign, fit opportunities are always at hand. As the importance of *logick* is to be ſhewn by detecting falſe arguments; the excellence of morality is to be diſplayed by proving the deformity, the reproach, and the miſery of all deviations from it. Yet it is to be remembered, that the laws of mere morality are no coercive power; and, however they may by conviction of their fitneſs pleaſe the reaſoner in the ſhade, when the paſſions ſtagnate without impulſe, and the appetites are ſecluded from their objects, they will be of little force againſt the ardour of deſire, or the vehemence of rage, amidſt the pleaſures and tumults of the world. To counteract the power of temptations, hope muſt be excited by the proſpect of rewards, and fear by the expectation of puniſhment; and virtue may owe her panegyricks to morality, but muſt derive her authority from religion.

When

Digitized by Google

When therefore the obligations of morality are taught, let the ſanctions of chriſtianity never be forgotten; by which it will be ſhewn, that they give ſtrength and luſtre to each other; religion will appear to be the voice of reaſon, and morality the will of GOD. Under this article muſt be recommended *Tully's Offices*, *Grotius*, *Puffendorf*, *Cumberland's Laws of Nature*, and the excellent Mr. *Addiſon's Moral and Religious Eſſays*.

X. Thus far the work is compoſed for the uſe of ſcholars, merely as they are men. But it was thought neceſſary to introduce ſomething that might be particularly adapted to that country for which it is deſigned; and therefore a diſcourſe has been added upon *trade* and *commerce*, of which it becomes every man of this nation to underſtand at leaſt the general principles, as it is impoſſible that any ſhould be high or low enough not to be in ſome degree affected by their declenſion or proſperity. It is therefore neceſſary that it ſhould be univerſally known among us, what changes of property are advantageous, or when the balance of trade is on our ſide; what are the products or manufactures of other countries; and how far one nation may in any ſpecies of traffick obtain or preſerve ſuperiority over another. The theory of trade is yet but little underſtood, and therefore the practice is often without real advantage to the publick; but it might be carried on with more general ſucceſs, if its principles were better conſidered: and to excite that attention is our chief deſign. To the peruſal of this book may ſucceed that of *Mun upon foreign Trade*, Sir *Joſiah Child*, *Locke upon Coin*, *Davenant's* treatiſes, the

Digitized by Google

the *Britiſh Merchant*, *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, and, for an abſtract or compendium, *Gee*, and an improvement that may hereafter be made upon his plan.

XI. The principles of *laws* and *government* come next to be conſidered; by which men are taught to whom obedience is due, for what it is paid, and in what degree it may be juſtly required. This knowledge, by peculiar neceſſity, conſtitutes a part of the education of an *Engliſhman*, who profeſſes to obey his prince according to the law, and who is himſelf a ſecondary legiſlator, as he gives his conſent, by his repreſentative, to all the laws by which he is bound, and has a right to petition the great council of the nation, whenever he thinks they are deliberating upon an act detrimental to the intereſt of the community. This is therefore a ſubject to which the thoughts of a young man ought to be directed; and that he may obtain ſuch knowledge as may qualify him to act and judge as one of a free people, let him be directed to add to this introduction *Forteſcue*'s *Treatiſes*, *N. Bacon*'s *Hiſtorical Diſcourſe on the Laws and Government of England*, *Temple*'s *Introduction*, *Locke on Government*, *Zouch*'s *Elementa Juris Civilis*, *Plato Redivivus*, *Gurdon*'s *Hiſtory of Parliaments*, and *Hooker*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*.

XII. Having thus ſupplied the young ſtudent with knowledge, it remains now that he learns its application; and that thus qualified to act his part, he be at laſt taught to chuſe it. For this purpoſe a ſection is added upon *human life* and *manners*; in which he is cautioned againſt the danger of indulging his *paſſions*, of vitiating his *habits*, and depraving his *ſentiments*.

Digitized by Google

timents. He is inſtructed in theſe points by three fables, two of which were of the higheſt authority in the ancient *Pagan* world. But at this he is not to reſt; for if he expects to be wiſe and happy, he muſt diligently ſtudy the SCRIPTURES of GOD.

Such is the book now propoſed, as the firſt initiation into the knowledge of things, which has been thought by many to be too long delayed in the preſent forms of education. Whether the complaints be not often ill-grounded, may perhaps be diſputed; but it is at leaſt reaſonable to believe, that greater proficiency might ſometimes be made; that real knowledge might be more early communicated; and that children might be allowed, without injury to health, to ſpend many of thoſe hours upon uſeful employments, which are generally loſt in idleneſs and play; therefore the publick will ſurely encourage an experiment, by which, if it fails, nobody is hurt; and if it ſucceeds, all the future ages of the world may find advantage; which may eradicate or prevent vice, by turning to a better uſe thoſe moments in which it is learned or indulged; and in ſome ſenſe lengthen life, by teaching poſterity to enjoy thoſe years which have hitherto been loſt. The ſucceſs, and even the trial of this experiment, will depend upon thoſe to whom the care of our youth is committed; and a due ſenſe of the importance of their truſt will eaſily prevail upon them to encourage a work which purſues the deſign of improving education. If any part of the following performance ſhall upon trial be found capable of amendment; if any thing can be added or altered, ſo as to render the attainment of knowledge more

Digitized by Google

more eaſy; the Editor will be extremely obliged to any gentleman, particularly thoſe who are engaged in the buſineſs of teaching, for ſuch hints or obſervations as may tend towards the improvement, and will ſpare neither expenſe nor trouble in making the beſt uſe of their information.

Digitized by Google

PREFACE

TO

ROLT'S DICTIONARY*.

NO expectation is more fallacious than that which authors form of the reception which their labours will find among mankind. Scarcely any man publiſhes a book, whatever it be, without believing that he has caught the moment when the publick attention is vacant to his call, and the world is diſpoſed in a particular manner to learn the art which he undertakes to teach.

The writers of this volume are not ſo far exempt from epidemical prejudices, but that they likewiſe pleaſe themſelves with imagining, that they have reſerved their labours to a propitious conjuncture, and that this is the proper time for the publication of a Dictionary of Commerce.

The predictions of an author are very far from infallibility; but in juſtification of ſome degree of confidence it may be properly obſerved, that there was never from the earlieſt ages a time in which trade ſo much engaged the attention of mankind, or commercial gain was ſought with ſuch general emulation. Nations which have hitherto cultivated no art but that of war, nor conceived any means of increaſing riches but by plunder, are awakened to

* A new Dictionary of Trade and Commerce, compiled from the Information of the moſt eminent Merchants, and from the Works of the beſt Writers on commercial Subjects in all Languages, by Mr. *Rolt*. Folio, 1757.

more

Digitized by Google

more inoffenſive induſtry. Thoſe whom the poſſeſſion of ſubterraneous treaſures, have long diſpoſed to accommodate themſelves by foreign induſtry, are at laſt convinced that idleneſs never will be rich. The merchant is now invited to every port, manufactures are eſtabliſhed in all cities, and princes who juſt can view the ſea from ſome ſingle corner of their dominions, are enlarging harbours, erecting mercantile companies, and preparing to traffick in the remoteſt countries.

Nor is the form of this work leſs popular than the ſubject. It has lately been the practice of the learned to range knowledge by the alphabet, and publiſh dictionaries of every kind of literature. This practice has perhaps been carried too far by the force of faſhion. Sciences, in themſelves ſyſtematical and coherent, are not very properly broken into ſuch fortuitous diſtributions. A dictionary of arithmetick or geometry can ſerve only to confound: but commerce, conſidered in its whole extent, ſeems to refuſe any other method of arrangement, as it compriſes innumerable particulars unconnected with each other, among which there is no reaſon why any ſhould be firſt or laſt, better than is furniſhed by the letters that compoſe their names.

We cannot indeed boaſt ourſelves the inventors of a ſcheme ſo commodious and comprehenſive. The *French*, among innumerable projects for the promotion of traffick, have taken care to ſupply their merchants with a *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, collected with great induſtry and exactneſs, but too large for common uſe, and adapted to their own trade. This book, as well as others, has been carefully conſulted, that

Digitized by Google

our merchants may not be ignorant of any thing known by their enemies or rivals.

Such indeed is the extent of our undertaking, that it was neceſſary to ſolicit every information, to conſult the living and the dead. The great qualification of him that attempts a work thus general, is diligence of enquiry. No man has opportunity or ability to acquaint himſelf with all the ſubjects of a commercial dictionary, ſo as to deſcribe from his own knowledge, or aſſert on his own experience. He muſt therefore often depend upon the veracity of others, as every man depends in common life, and have no other ſkill to boaſt than that of ſelecting judiciouſly, and arranging properly.

But to him who conſiders the extent of our ſubject, limited only by the bounds of nature and of art, the taſk of ſelection and method will appear ſufficient to overburden induſtry and diſtract attention. Many branches of commerce are ſub-divided into ſmaller and ſmaller parts, till at laſt they become ſo minute as not eaſily to be noted by obſervation. Many intereſts are ſo woven among each other as not to be diſentangled without long enquiry; many arts are induſtriouſly kept ſecret, and many practices neceſſary to be known, are carried on in parts too remote for intelligence.

But the knowledge of trade is of ſo much importance to a maritime nation, that no labour can be thought great by which information may be obtained; and therefore we hope the reader will not have reaſon to complain, that, of what he might juſtly expect to find, any thing is omitted.

To give a detail or analyſis of our work is very difficult;

Digitized by Google

difficult; a volume intended to contain whatever is requiſite to be known by every trader, neceſſarily becomes ſo miſcellaneous and unconnected as not to be eaſily reducible to heads; yet, ſince we pretend in ſome meaſure to treat of traffick as a ſcience, and to make that regular and ſyſtematical which has hitherto been to a great degree fortuitous and conjectural, and has often ſucceeded by chance rather than by conduct, it will be proper to ſhew that a diſtribution of parts has been attempted, which, though rude and inadequate, will at leaſt preſerve ſome order, and enable the mind to take a methodical and ſucceſſive view of this deſign.

In the dictionary which we here offer to the publick, we propoſe to exhibit the *materials*, the *places*, and the *means* of traffick.

The materials or ſubjects of traffick are *whatever is bought and ſold*, and include therefore every manufacture of art, and almoſt every production of nature.

In giving an account of the commodities of nature, whether thoſe which are to be uſed in their original ſtate, as drugs and ſpices, or thoſe which become uſeful when they receive a new form from human art, as flax, cotton, and metals, we ſhall ſhew the places of their production, the manner in which they grow, the art of cultivating or collecting them, their diſcriminations and varieties, by which the beſt ſorts are known from the worſe, and genuine from fictitious, the arts by which they are counterfeited, the caſualties by which they are impaired, and the practices by which the damage is palliated or concealed. We ſhall likewiſe ſhew their virtues and uſes, and trace them through all the changes which they undergo.

Digitized by Google

The hiſtory of manufactures is likewiſe delivered. Of every artificial commodity the manner in which it is made is in ſome meaſure deſcribed, though it muſt be remembered, that manual operations are ſcarce to be conveyed by any words to him that has not ſeen them. Some general notions may however be afforded: it is eaſy to comprehend, that plates of iron are formed by the preſſure of rollers, and bars by the ſtrokes of a hammar; that a cannon is caſt, and that an anvil is forged. But as it is to moſt traders of more uſe to know when their goods are well wrought, than by what means, care has been taken to name the places where every manufacture has been carried furtheſt, and the marks by which its excellency may be aſcertained.

By the *places of trade* are underſtood all ports, cities, or towns, where ſtaples are eſtabliſhed, manufactures are wrought, or any commodities are bought and ſold advantageouſly. This part of our work includes an enumeration of almoſt all the remarkable places in the world, with ſuch an account of their ſituation, cuſtoms, and products, as the merchant would require, who being to begin a new trade in any foreign country, was yet ignorant of the commodities of the place, and the manners of the inhabitants.

But the chief attention of the merchant, and conſequently of the author who writes for merchants, ought to be employed upon the *means* of trade, which include all the knowledge and practice neceſſary to the ſkilful and ſucceſsful conduct of commerce.

The firſt of the means of trade is proper education, which may confer a competent ſkill in numbers; to be afterwards completed in the counting-houſe, by obſervation

Digitized by Google

ſervation of the manner of ſtating accounts, and regulating books, which is one of the few arts which having been ſtudied in proportion to its importance, is carried as far as uſe can require. The counting-houſe of an accompliſhed merchant is a ſchool of method, where the great ſcience may be learned of ranging particulars under generals, of bringing the different parts of a tranſaction together, and of ſhewing at one view a long ſeries of dealing and exchange. Let no man venture into large buſineſs while he is ignorant of the method of regulating books; never let him imagine that any degree of natural abilities will enable him to ſupply this deficiency, or preſerve multiplicity of affairs from inextricable confuſion.

This is the ſtudy, without which all other ſtudies will be of little avail; but this alone is not ſufficient. It will be neceſſary to learn many other things, which however may be eaſily included in the preparatory inſtitutions, ſuch as an exact knowledge of the *weights* and *meaſures* of different countries, and ſome ſkill in geography and navigation, with which this book may perhaps ſufficiently ſupply him.

In navigation, conſidered as part of the ſkill of a merchant, is included not ſo much the art of ſteering a ſhip, as the knowledge of the ſea-coaſt, and of the different parts to which his cargoes are ſent, the cuſtoms to be paid; the paſſes, permiſſions, or certificates to be procured; the hazards of every voyage, and the true rate of inſurances. To this muſt be added, an acquaintance with the policies and arts of other nations, as well thoſe to whom the commodities are ſold, as of thoſe who carry goods of the ſame kind

Digitized by Google

to the ſame market; and who are therefore to be watched as rivals endeavouring to take advantage of every error, miſcarriage, or debate.

The chief of the *means* of trade is *money*, of which our late refinements in traffick have made the knowledge extremely difficult. The merchant muſt not only inform himſelf of the various denominations and value of foreign coins, together with their method of counting and reducing; ſuch as the milleries of *Portugal*, and the livres of *France*; but he muſt learn what is of more difficult attainment; the diſcount of exchanges, the nature of current paper, the principles upon which the ſeveral banks of *Europe* are eſtabliſhed, the real value of funds, the true credit of trading companies, with all the ſources of profit, and poſſibilities of loſs.

All this he muſt learn merely as a private dealer, attentive only to his own advantage; but as every man ought to conſider himſelf as part of the community to which he belongs, and while he proſecutes his own intereſt to promote likewiſe that of his country, it is neceſſary for the trader to look abroad upon mankind, and ſtudy many queſtions which are perhaps more properly political than mercantile.

He ought therefore to conſider very accurately the balance of trade, or the proportion between things exported and imported; to examine what kinds of commerce are unlawful, either as being expreſsly prohibited, becauſe detrimental to the manufactures or other intereſt of his country, as the exportation of ſilver to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the introduction of *French* commodities; or unlawful in itſelf, as the traffick for

Digitized by Google

negroes. He ought to be able to ſtate with accuracy, the benefits and miſchiefs of monopolies, and excluſive companies; to enquire into the arts which have been practiſed by them to make themſelves neceſſary, or by their opponents to make them odious. He ſhould inform himſelf what trades are declining, and what are improveable; when the advantage is on our ſide and when on that of our rivals.

The ſtate of our *colonies* is always to be diligently ſurveyed, that no advantage may be loſt which they can afford, and that every opportunity may be improved of encreaſing their wealth and power, or of making them uſeful to their mother country.

There is no knowledge of more frequent uſe than that of duties and impoſt, whether cuſtoms paid at the ports, or exciſes levied upon the manufacturer. Much of the proſperity of a trading nation depends upon duties properly apportioned; ſo that what is neceſſary may continue cheap, and what is of uſe only to luxury may in ſome meaſure atone to the publick for the miſchief done to individuals. Duties may often be ſo regulated as to become uſeful even to thoſe that pay them; and they may be likewiſe ſo unequally impoſed as to diſcourage honeſty, and depreſs induſtry, and give temptation to fraud and unlawful practices.

To teach all this is the deſign of the Commercial Dictionary; which, though immediately and primarily written for the merchants, will be of uſe to every man of buſineſs or curioſity. There is no man who is not in ſome degree a merchant, who has not ſomething to buy and ſomething to ſell, and who does not therefore want ſuch inſtructions as may teach him the true value of poſſeſſions or commodities.

Digitized by Google

The deſcriptions of the productions of the earth and water, which this volume will contain, may be equally pleaſing and uſeful to the ſpeculatiſt with any other natural hiſtory; and the accounts of various manufactures will conſtitute no contemptible body of experimental philoſophy. The deſcriptions of ports and cities may inſtruct the geographer as well as if they were found in books appropriated only to his own ſcience; and the doctrines of funds, inſurances, currency, monopolies, exchanges, and duties, is ſo neceſſary to the politician, that without it he can be of no uſe either in the council or the ſenate, nor can ſpeak or think juſtly either on war or trade.

We therefore hope that we ſhall not repent the labour of compiling this work; nor flatter ourſelves unreaſonably, in predicting a favourable reception to a book which no condition of life can render uſeleſs, which may contribute to the advantage of all that make or receive laws, of all that buy or ſell, of all that wiſh to keep or improve their poſſeſſions, of all that deſire to be rich, and all that deſire to be wiſe.

Digitized by Google

PREFACE TO THE TRANSLATION OF FATHER LOBO'S VOYAGE TO ABYSSINIA.*

THE following relation is ſo curious and entertaining, and the diſſertations that accompany it ſo judicious and inſtructive, that the tranſlator is confident his attempt ſtands in need of no apology, whatever cenſures may fall on the performance.

The *Portugueſe* traveller, contrary to the general vein of his countrymen, has amuſed his reader with no romantick abſurdites or incredible fictions: whatever he relates, whether true or not, is at leaſt probable; and he who tells nothing exceeding the bounds of probability, has a right to demand that they ſhould believe him who cannot contradict him.

He appears by his modeſt and unaffected narration, to have deſcribed things as he ſaw them, to have copied nature from the life, and to have conſulted his ſenſes, not his imagination. He meets with no baſiliſks that deſtroy with their eyes; his crocodiles devour their prey without tears; and his catarracts fall from the rock without deafening the neighbouring inhabitants.

* For an account of this book, ſee the Life of Dr. JOHNSON, by the Editor.

The

Digitized by Google

The reader will here find no regions curſed with irremediable barrenneſs or bleſt with ſpontaneous fecundity; no perpetual gloom or unceaſing ſunſhine; nor are the nations here deſcribed either devoid of all ſenſe of humanity, or conſummate in all private and ſocial virtues: here are no *Hottentots* without religion, polity, or articulate language; no *Chineſe* perfectly polite, and completely ſkilled in all ſciences: he will diſcover what will always be diſcovered by a diligent and impartial inquirer, that wherever human nature is to be found, there is a mixture of vice and virtue, a conteſt of paſſion and reaſon; and that the Creator doth not appear partial in his diſtributions, but has balanced in moſt countries their particular inconveniencies by particular favours.

In his account of the miſſion, where his veracity is moſt to be ſuſpected, he neither exaggerates overmuch the merits of the jeſuits, if we conſider the partial regard paid by the *Portugueſe* to their countrymen, by the jeſuits to their ſociety, and by the papiſts to their church, nor aggravates the vices of the *Abyſſinians*; but if the reader will not be ſatisfied with a popiſh account of a popiſh miſſion, he may have recourſe to the Hiſtory of the Church of *Abyſſinia*, written by Dr. *Geddes*, in which he will find the actions and ſufferings of the miſſionaries placed in a different light, though the ſame in which Mr. *Le Grand*, with all his zeal for the *Roman* church, appears to have ſeen them.

This learned diſſertator, however valuable for his induſtry and erudition is yet more to be eſteemed for having dared ſo freely in the midſt of *France*, to declare his diſapprobation of the patriarch *Oviedo*'s ſanguinary

Digitized by Google

ſanguinary zeal, who was continually importuning the *Portugueſe* to beat up their drums for miſſionaries who might preach the goſpel with ſwords in their hands, and propagated by deſolation and ſlaughter the true worſhip of the God of peace.

It is not eaſy to forbear reflecting with how little reaſon theſe men profeſs themſelves the followers of JESUS, who left this great characteriſtick to his diſciples, that they ſhould be known *by loving one another*, by univerſal and unbounded charity and benevolence.

Let us ſuppoſe an inhabitant of ſome remote and ſuperior region, yet unſkilled in the ways of men, having read and conſidered the precepts of the goſpel, and the example of our Saviour, to come down in ſearch of the *true church*; if he would not enquire after it among the cruel, the inſolent, and the oppreſſive; among thoſe who are continually graſping at dominion over ſouls as well as bodies; among thoſe who are employed in procuring to themſelves impunity for the moſt enormous villanies, and ſtudying methods of deſtroying their fellow-creatures, not for their crimes but their errors; if he would not expect to meet benevolence engage in maſſacres, or to find mercy in a court of inquiſition—he would not look for the *true church* in the church of *Rome*.

Mr. *Le Grand* has given in one diſſertation an example of great moderation, in deviating from the temper of his religion; but in the others has left proofs, that learning and honeſty are often too weak to oppoſe prejudice. He has made no ſcruple of preferring the teſtimony of father *Du Bernat* to the writ-

ings

Digitized by Google

ings of all the *Portagueſe* jeſuits, to whom he allows great zeal, but little learning, without giving any other reaſon than that his favourite was a *Frenchman*. This is writing only to *Frenchmen* and to papiſts: a proteſtant would be deſirous to know, why he muſt imagine that father *Du Bernat* had a cooler head or more knowledge, and why one man, whoſe account is ſingular, is not more likely to be miſtaken than many agreeing in the ſame account.

If the *Portuguaſe* were biaſſed by any particular views, another bias equally powerful may have deflected the *Frenchman* from the truth; for they evidently write with contrary deſigns: the *Portugueſe*, to make their miſſion ſeem more neceſſary, endeavoured to place in the ſtrongeſt light the differences between the *Abyſſinian* and *Roman* church; but the great *Ludolfus*, laying hold on the advantage, reduced theſe later writers to prove their conformity.

Upon the whole the controverſy ſeems of no great importance to thoſe who believe the Holy Scriptures ſufficient to teach the way of ſalvation; but, of whatever moment it may be thought, there are no proofs ſufficient to decide it.

His diſcourſes on indifferent ſubjects will divert as well as inſtruct; and if either in theſe, or in the relation of father *Lobo*, any argument ſhall appear unconvincing, or deſcription obſcure, they are defects incident to all mankind, which however are not too raſhly to be imputed to the authors, being ſometimes perhaps more juſtly chargeable on the tranſlator.

In this tranſlation (if it may be ſo called) great liberties have been taken, which, whether juſtifiable

or

Digitized by Google

or not ſhall be fairly confeſſed, and let the judicious part of mankind pardon or condemn them.

In the firſt part the greateſt freedom has been uſed, in reducing the narration into a narrow compaſs; ſo that it is by no means a tranſlation, but an epitome, in which, whether every thing either uſeful or entertaining be compriſed, the compiler is leaſt qualified to determine.

In the account of *Abyſſinia*, and the continuation, the authors have been followed with more exactneſs; and as few paſſages appeared, either inſignificant or tedious, few have been either ſhortened or omitted.

The diſſertations are the only part in which an exact tranſlation has been attempted; and even in thoſe, abſtracts are ſometimes given inſtead of literal quotations, particularly in the firſt; and ſometimes other parts have been contracted.

Several memorials and letters, which are printed at the end of the diſſertations to ſecure the credit of the foregoing narrative, are entirely left out.

It is hoped that after this confeſſion, whoever ſhall compare this attempt with the original, if he ſhall find no proofs of fraud or partiality, will candidly overlook any failure of judgment.

Digitized by Google

AN ESSAY ON EPITAPHS.

THOUGH criticiſm has been cultivated in every age of learning, by men of great abilities, and extenſive knowledge, till the rules of writing are become rather burthenſome than inſtructive to the mind; though almoſt every ſpecies of compoſition has been the ſubject of particular treatiſes, and given birth to definitions, diſtinctions, precepts, and illuſtrations; yet no critick of note, that has fallen within my obſervation, has hitherto thought *ſepulchral inſcriptions* worthy of a minute examination, or pointed out with proper accuracy their beauties and defects.

The reaſons of this neglect it is uſeleſs to enquire, and perhaps impoſſible to diſcover; it might be juſtly expected that this kind of writing would have been the favourite topick of criticiſm, and that ſelf-love might have produced ſome regard for it, in thoſe authors that have crowded libraries with elaborate diſſertations upon *Homer*; ſince to afford a ſubject for heroick poems is the privilege of very few, but every man may expect to be recorded in an epitaph, and therefore finds ſome intereſt in providing

Digitized by Google

viding that his memory may not ſuffer by an unſkilful panegyrick.

If our prejudices in favour of antiquity deſerve to have any part in the regulation of our ſtudies, EPITAPHS ſeem intitled to more than common regard, as they are probably of the ſame age with the art of writing. The moſt ancient ſtructures in the world, the Pyramids, are ſuppoſed to be ſepulchral monuments, which either pride or gratitude erected; and the ſame paſſions which incited men to ſuch laborious and expenſive methods of preſerving their own memory, or that of their benefactors, would doubtleſs incline them not to neglect any eaſier means by which the ſame ends might be obtained. Nature and reaſon have dictated to every nation, that to preſerve good actions from oblivion, is both the intereſt and duty of mankind: and therefore we find no people acquainted with the uſe of letters, that omitted to grace the tombs of their heroes and wiſe men with panegyrical inſcriptions.

To examine, therefore, in what the perfection of EPITAPHS conſiſts, and what rules are to be obſerved in compoſing them, will be at leaſt of as much uſe as other critical enquiries; and for aſſigning a few hours to ſuch diſquiſitions, great examples at leaſt, if not ſtrong reaſons, may be pleaded.

An EPITAPH, as the word itſelf implies, is an *inſcription on the tomb*, and in its moſt extenſive import may admit indiſcriminately ſatire or praiſe. But as malice has ſeldom produced monuments of defamation, and the tombs hitherto raiſed have been the work of friendſhip and benevolence, cuſtom has contracted the original latitude of the *word*, ſo that it

Digitized by Google

it ſignifies in the general acceptation an *inſcription engraven on a tomb in honour of the perſon deceaſed.*

As honours are paid to the dead in order to incite others to the imitation of their excellences, the principal intention of EPITAPHS is to perpetuate the examples of virtue, that the tomb of a good man may ſupply the want of his preſence, and veneration for his memory produce the ſame effect as the obſervation of his life. Thoſe EPITAPHS are therefore, the moſt perfect, which ſet virtue in the ſtrongeſt light, and are beſt adapted to exalt the reader's ideas and rouſe his emulation.

To this end it is not always neceſſary to recount the actions of a hero, or enumerate the writings of a philoſopher; to imagine ſuch informations neceſſary, is to detract from their characters, or to ſuppoſe their works mortal, or their atchievements in danger of being forgotten. The bare name of ſuch men anſwers every purpoſe of a long inſcription.

Had only the name of Sir ISAAC NEWTON been ſubjoined to the deſign upon his monument, inſtead of a long detail of his diſcoveries, which no philoſopher can want, and which none but a philoſopher can underſtand, thoſe, by whoſe direction it was raiſed, had done more honour both to him and to themſelves.

This indeed is a commendation which it requires no genius to beſtow, but which can never become vulgar or contemptible, if beſtowed with judgement; becauſe no ſingle age produces many men of merit ſuperior to panegyrick. None but the firſt names can ſtand unaſſiſted againſt the attacks of time; and if men raiſed to reputation by accident

or

Digitized by Google

or caprice, have nothing but their names engraved on their tombs, there is danger leſt in a few years the inſcription require an interpreter. Thus have their expectations been diſappointed who honoured *Picus* of *Mirandola* with this pompous epitaph:

Hic ſitus eſt PICUS MIRANDOLA, *cætera nount*
Et Tagus et Ganges, forſan et Antipodes.

His name, then celebrated in the remoteſt corners of the earth, is now almoſt forgotten; and his works, then ſtudied, admired, and applauded, are now mouldering in obſcurity.

Next in dignity to the bare name is a ſhort character ſimple and unadorned, without exaggeration, ſuperlatives, or rhetorick. Such were the inſcriptions in uſe among the *Romans*, in which the victories gained by their emperors were commemorated by a ſingle epithet; as Cæſar *Germanicus*, Cæſar *Dacicus*, *Germanicus*, *Illyricus*. Such would be this epitaph, ISAACUS NEWTONUS, *naturæ legibus inveſtigatis, hic quieſcit*,

But to far the greateſt part of mankind a longer encomium is neceſſary for the publication of their virtues, and the preſervation of their memories; and in the compoſition of theſe it is that art is principally required, and precepts therefore may be uſeful.

In writing EPITAPHS, one circumſtance is to be conſidered, which affects no other compoſition; the place in which they are now commonly found reſtrains them to a particular air of ſolemnity, and debars them from the admiſſion of all lighter or gayer or-

Digitized by Google

naments. In this it is that the ſtyle of an EPITAPH neceſſarily differs from that of an ELEGY. The cuſtom of burying our dead either in or near our churches, perhaps originally founded on a rational deſign of fitting the mind for religious exerciſes, by laying before it the moſt affecting proof of the uncertainty of life, makes it proper to exclude from our EPITAPHS all ſuch alluſions as are contrary to the doctrines for the propagation of which the churches are erected, and to the end for which thoſe who peruſe the monuments muſt be ſuppoſed to come thither. Nothing is, therefore, more ridiculous than to copy the *Roman* inſcriptions, which were engraven on ſtones by the high-way, and compoſed by thoſe who generally reflected on mortality only to excite in themſelves and others a quicker reliſh of pleaſure, and a more luxurious enjoyment of life, and whoſe regard for the dead extended no farther than a wiſh that *the earth might be light upon them.*

All alluſions to the heathen mythology are therefore abſurd, and all regard for the ſenſeleſs remains of a dead man impertinent and ſuperſtitious. One of the firſt diſtinctions of the primitive chriſtians, was their neglect of beſtowing garlands on the dead, in which they are very rationally defended by their apologiſt in *Minutius Felix.* "We laviſh no flowers "nor odours on the dead," ſays he, "becauſe they "have no ſenſe of fragrance or of beauty." We profeſs to reverence the dead, not for their ſake, but for our own. It is therefore always with indignation or contempt that I read the epitaph on *Cowley,*

Digitized by Google

Cowley, a man, whoſe learning and poetry were his loweſt merits:

Aurea dum late volitant tua ſcripta per orbem,
Et fama eternum vivis, divine Poëta,
Hic placida jaceas requie, cuſtodiat urnam
Cana Fides, vigilentque perenni lampade Muſæ!
Sit ſacer ille locus, nec quis temerarius auſit
Sacrilega turbare manu venerabile buſtum.
Intacti maneant, maneant per ſæcula dulces
COWLEII *cineres, ſerventque immobile ſaxum.*

To pray that the aſhes of a friend may lie undiſturbed, and that the divinities that favoured him in his life, may watch for ever round him to preſerve his tomb from violation, and drive ſacrilege away, is only rational in him who believes the ſoul intereſted in the repoſe of the body, and the powers which he invokes for its protection able to preſerve it. To cenſure ſuch expreſſions as contrary to religion, or as remains of heathen ſuperſtition, would be too great a degree of ſeverity. I condemn them only as uninſtructive and unaffecting, as too ludicrous for reverence or grief, for chriſtianity and a temple.

That the deſigns and decorations of monuments ought likewiſe to be formed with the ſame regard to the ſolemnity of the place, cannot be denied: it is an eſtabliſhed principle, that all ornaments owe their beauty to their propriety. The ſame glitter of dreſs that adds graces to gaiety and youth, would make age and dignity contemptible. *Charon* with his boat is far from heightening the awful grandeur of the univerſal judgment, though drawn by *Angelo* himſelf;

Digitized by Google

nor is it eaſy to imagine a greater abſurdity than that of gracing the walls of a chriſtian temple with the figure of *Mars* leading a hero to battle, or *Cupids* ſporting round a virgin. The pope who defaced the ſtatues of the deities at the tomb of *Sannazarius* is, in my opinion, more eaſily to be defended, than he that erected them.

It is for the ſame reaſon improper to addreſs the EPITAPH to the paſſenger, a cuſtom which an injudicious veneration for antiquity introduced again at the revival of letters, and which, among many others, *Poſſeratius* ſuffered to miſlead him in his EPITAPH upon the heart of *Henry* king of *France*, who was ſtabbed by *Clement* the monk, which yet deſerves to be inſerted, for the ſake of ſhewing how beautiful even improprieties may become, in the hands of a good writer:

Adſta, viator, et dole regum vices.
Cor Regis iſto conditur ſub marmore,
Qui jura Gallis, jura Sarmatis dedit.
Tectus cucullo hunc ſuſtulit ſicarius.
Abi, viator, et dole regum vices.

In the monkiſh ages, however ignorant and unpoliſhed, the EPITAPHS were drawn up with far greater propriety than can be ſhewn in thoſe which more enlightened times have produced.

Orate pro Anima—miſerrimi Peccatoris,

was an addreſs to the laſt degree ſtriking and ſolemn, as it flowed naturally from the religion then believed, and awakened in the reader ſentiments of benevolence

Digitized by Google

for the deceaſed, and of concern for his own happineſs. There was nothing trifling or ludicrous, nothing that did not tend to the nobleſt end, the propagation of piety and the increaſe of devotion.

It may ſeem very ſuperfluous to lay it down as the firſt rule for writing EPITAPHS, that the name of the deceaſed is not to be omitted; nor ſhould I have thought ſuch a precept neceſſary, had not the practice of the greateſt writers ſhewn, that it has not been ſufficiently regarded. In moſt of the poetical EPITAPHS, the names for whom they were compoſed, may be ſought to no purpoſe, being only prefixed on the monument. To expoſe the abſurdity of this omiſſion, it is only neceſſary to aſk how the EPITAPHS, which have outlived the ſtones on which they were inſcribed, would have contributed to the information of poſterity, had they wanted the names of thoſe whom they celebrated.

In drawing the character of the deceaſed, there are no rules to be obſerved which do not equally relate to other compoſitions. The praiſe ought not to be general, becauſe the mind is loſt in the extent of any indefinite idea, and cannot be affected with what it cannot comprehend. When we hear only of a good or great man, we know not in what claſs to place him, nor have any notion of his character, diſtinct from that of a thouſand others; his example can have no effect upon our conduct, as we have nothing remarkable or eminent to propoſe to our imitation. The EPITAPH compoſed by *Ennius* for his own tomb, has both the faults laſt mentioned;

Nemo me decoret lacrumis, nec funera, fletu
Faxit. Cur? volito vivu' per ora virum.

Digitized by Google

The reader of this EPITAPH receives ſcarce any idea from it; he neither conceives any veneration for the man to whom it belongs, nor is inſtructed by what methods this boaſted reputation is to be obtained.

Though a ſepulchral inſcription is profeſſedly a panegyrick, and, therefore, not confined to hiſtorical impartiality, yet it ought always to be written with regard to truth. No man ought to be commended for virtues which he never poſſeſſed, but whoever is curious to know his faults muſt inquire after them in other places; the monuments of the dead are not intended to perpetuate the memory of crimes, but to exhibit patterns of virtue. On the tomb of *Mæcenas* his luxury is not to be mentioned with his munificence, nor is the proſcription to find a place on the monument of *Auguſtus*.

The beſt ſubject for EPITAPHS is private virtue; virtue exerted in the ſame circumſtances in which the bulk of mankind are placed, and which, therefore, may admit of many imitators. He that has delivered his country from oppreſſion, or freed the world from ignorance and error, can excite the emulation of a very ſmall number; but he that has repelled the temptations of poverty, and diſdained to free himſelf from diſtreſs at the expenſe of his virtue, may animate multitudes, by his example, to the ſame firmneſs of heart and ſteadineſs of reſolution.

Of this kind I cannot forbear the mention of two *Greek* inſcriptions; one upon a man whoſe writings are well known, the other upon a perſon whoſe memory is preſerved only in her EPITAPH, who both lived

Digitized by Google

lived in ſlavery, the moſt calamitous eſtate in human life:

Ζωσιμη ἡ πριν εισα μονω τω σωματι δουλη,
Και τω σωματι νυν ευρεν ελευθεριην.

ZOSIMA, *quæ ſolo fuit olim corpore ſerva,*
Corpore nunc etiam libera facta fuit.

"ZOSIMA, who in her life could only have her body enſlaved, now finds her body likewiſe ſet at liberty."

It is impoſſible to read this EPITAPH without being animated to bear the evils of life with conſtancy, and to ſupport the dignity of human nature under the moſt preſſing afflictions, both by the example of the heroine, whoſe grave we behold, and the proſpect of that ſtate in which, to uſe the language of the inſpired writers, "The poor ceaſe from their labours, and the weary be at reſt."——

The other is upon *Epictetus*, the *Stoick* philoſopher:

Δουλος Επικτητος κειμην, και σωμ' αναπηρος;
Και πενιην Ιρος, και φιλος Αθανατοις.

Servus Epictetus, *mutilatus corpore vixi*
Pauperieque Irus, curaque prima Deûm.

"EPICTETUS, who lies here, was a ſlave and a cripple, poor as the beggar in the proverb, and the favourite of Heaven."

In this diſtich is compriſed the nobleſt panegyrick, and the moſt important inſtruction. We may learn from it, that virtue is impracticable in no condition,

Digitized by Google

ſince *Epictetus* could recommend himſelf to the regard of Heaven, amidſt the temptations of poverty and ſlavery: ſlavery, which has always been found ſo deſtructive to virtue, that in many languages a ſlave and a thief are expreſſed by the ſame word. And we may be likewiſe admoniſhed by it, not to lay any ſtreſs on a man's outward circumſtances, in making an eſtimate of his real value, ſince *Epictetus* the beggar, the cripple, and the ſlave, was the favourite of Heaven,

Digitized by Google

POLITICAL ESSAYS.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN M,DCC,LVI.

THE time is now come in which every *Engliſhman* expects to be informed of the national affairs, and in which he has a right to have that expectation gratified. For whatever may be urged by miniſters, or thoſe whom vanity or intereſt make the followers of miniſters, concerning the neceſſity of confidence in our governors, and the preſumption of prying with profane eyes into the receſſes of policy, it is evident, that this reverence can be claimed only by counſels yet unexecuted, and projects ſuſpended in deliberation. But when a deſign has ended in miſcarriage or ſucceſs, when every eye and every ear is witneſs to general diſcontent, or general ſatisfaction, it is then a proper time to diſentangle confuſion, and illuſtrate obſcurity, to ſhew by

Digitized by Google

by what cauſes every event was produced, and in what effects it is likely to terminate: to lay down with diſtinct particularity what rumour always huddles in general exclamations, or perplexes by undigeſted narratives; to ſhow whence happineſs or calamity is derived, and whence it may be expected; and honeſtly to lay before the people what inquiry can gather of the paſt, and conjecture can eſtimate of the future.

The general ſubject of the preſent war is ſufficiently known. It is allowed on both ſides, that hoſtilities began in *America*, and that the *French* and *Engliſh* quarrelled about the boundaries of their ſettlements, about grounds and rivers to which, I am afraid, neither can ſhew any other right than that of power, and which neither can occupy but by uſurpation, and the diſpoſſeſſion of the natural lords and original inhabitants. Such is the conteſt, that no honeſt man can heartily wiſh ſucceſs to either party.

It may indeed be alleged, that the *Indians* have granted large tracts of land both to one and to the other; but theſe grants can add little to the validity of our titles, till it be experienced how they were obtained: for if they were extorted by violence, or induced by fraud; by threats, which the miſeries of other nations had ſhown not to be vain, or by promiſes of which no performance was ever intended, what are they but new modes of uſurpation, but new inſtances of cruelty and treachery?

And indeed what but falſe hope or reſiſtleſs terror can prevail upon a weaker nation to invite a ſtronger into their country, to give their lands to ſtrangers whom

Digitized by Google

whom no affinity of manners, or ſimilitude of opinion, can be ſaid to recommend, to permit them to build towns from which the natives are excluded, to raiſe fortreſſes by which they are intimidated, to ſettle themſelves with ſuch ſtrength, that they cannot afterwards be expelled, but are for ever to remain the maſters of the original inhabitants, the dictators of their conduct, and the arbiters of their fate?

When we ſee men acting thus againſt the precepts of reaſon, and the inſtincts of nature, we cannot heſitate to determine, that by ſome means or other they were debarred from choice; that they were lured or frighted into compliance; that they either granted only what they found impoſſible to keep, or expected advantages upon the faith of their new inmates, which there was no purpoſe to confer upon them. It cannot be ſaid, that the *Indians* originally invited us to their coaſts; we went uncalled and unexpected to nations who had no imagination that the earth contained any inhabitants ſo diſtant and ſo different from themſelves. We aſtoniſhed them with our ſhips, with our arms, and with our general ſuperiority. They yielded to us as to beings of another and higher race, ſent among them from ſome unknown regions, with power which naked *Indians* could not reſiſt, and which they were therefore, by every act of humility, to propitiate, that they, who could ſo eaſily deſtroy, might be induced to ſpare.

To this influence, and to this only, are to be attributed all the ceſſions and ſubmiſſions of the *Indian* princes, if indeed any ſuch ceſſions were ever made, of which we have no witneſs but thoſe who claim from

Digitized by Google

from them; and there is no great malignity in ſuſpecting, that thoſe who have robbed have alſo lied.

Some colonies indeed have been eſtabliſhed more peaceably than others. The utmoſt extremity of wrong has not always been practiſed; but thoſe that have ſettled in the new world on the faireſt terms, have no other merit than that of a ſcrivener who ruins in ſilence, over a plunderer that ſeizes by force; all have taken what had other owners, and all have had recourſe to arms, rather than quit the prey on which they had faſtened.

The *American* diſpute between the *French* and us is therefore only the quarrel of two robbers for the ſpoils of a paſſenger; but as robbers have terms of confederacy, which they are obliged to obſerve as members of the gang, ſo the *Engliſh* and *French* may have relative rights, and do injuſtice to each other, while both are injuring the *Indians*. And ſuch, indeed, is the preſent conteſt: they have parted the northern continent of *America* between them, and are now diſputing about their boundaries, and each is endeavouring the deſtruction of the other by the help of the *Indians*, whoſe intereſt it is that both ſhould be deſtroyed.

Both nations clamour with great vehemence about infractions of limits, violation of treaties, open uſurpation, inſidious artifices, and breach of faith. The *Engliſh* rail at the perfidious *French*, and the *French* at the encroaching *Engliſh*; they quote treaties on each ſide, charge each other with aſpiring to univerſal monarchy, and complain on either part of the inſecurity of poſſeſſion near ſuch turbulent neighbours.

Through

Digitized by Google

Through this miſt of controverſy it can raiſe no wonder that the truth is not eaſily diſcovered. When a quarrel has been long carried on between individuals, it is often very hard to tell by whom it was begun. Every fact is darkened by diſtance, by intereſt, and by multitudes. Information is not eaſily procured from far; thoſe whom the truth will not favour, will not ſtep voluntarily forth to tell it; and where there are many agents, it is eaſy for every ſingle action to be concealed.

All theſe cauſes concur to the obſcurity of the queſtion, "By whom were hoſtilities in *America* "commenced?" Perhaps there never can be remembered a time in which hoſtilities had ceaſed. Two powerful colonies inflamed with immemorial rivalry, and placed out of the ſuperintendence of the mother nations, were not likely to be long at reſt. Some oppoſition was always going forward, ſome miſchief was every day done or meditated, and the borderers were always better pleaſed with what they could ſnatch from their neighbours, than what they had of their own.

In this diſpoſition to reciprocal invaſion a cauſe of diſpute never could be wanting. The foreſts and deſerts of *America* are without land-marks, and therefore cannot be particularly ſpecified in ſtipulations: the appellations of thoſe wide-extended regions have in every mouth a different meaning, and are underſtood on either ſide as inclination happens to contract or extend them. Who has yet pretended to define how much of *America* is included in *Brazil*, *Mexico*, or *Peru*? It is almoſt as eaſy to divide the *Atlantic* ocean

Digitized by Google

ocean by a line, as clearly to aſcertain the limits of thoſe uncultivated, uninhabitable, unmeaſured regions.

It is likewiſe to be conſidered, that contracts concerning boundaries are often left vague and indefinite without neceſſity, by the deſire of each party, to interpret the ambiguity to its own advantage when a fit opportunity ſhall be found. In forming ſtipulations, the commiſſaries are often ignorant, and often negligent; they are ſometimes weary with debate, and contract a tedious diſcuſſion into general terms, or refer it to a former treaty, which was never underſtood. The weaker part is always afraid of requiring explanations, and the ſtronger always has an intereſt in leaving the queſtion undecided: thus it will happen, without great caution on either ſide, that after long treaties ſolemnly ratified, the rights that had been diſputed are ſtill equally open to controverſy.

In *America*, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that there are tracts of land not yet claimed by either party, and therefore mentioned in no treaties, which yet one or the other may be afterwards inclined to occupy; but to theſe vacant and unſettled countries each nation may pretend, as each conceives itſelf entitled to all that is not expreſsly granted to the other.

Here then is a perpetual ground of conteſt: every enlargement of the poſſeſſions of either will be conſidered as ſomething taken from the other, and each will endeavour to regain what had never been claimed, but that the other occupied it.

Thus obſcure in its original is the *American* conteſt. It

Digitized by Google

It is difficult to find the firſt invader, or to tell where invaſion properly begins; but I ſuppoſe it is not to be doubted, that after the laſt war, when the *French* had made peace with ſuch apparent ſuperiority, they naturally began to treat us with leſs reſpect in diſtant parts of the world, and to conſider us as a people from whom they had nothing to fear, and who could no longer preſume to contravene their deſigns, or to check their progreſs.

The power of doing wrong with impunity ſeldom waits long for the will; and it is reaſonable to believe, that in *America* the *French* would avow their purpoſe of aggrandizing themſelves with at leaſt as little reſerve as in *Europe*. We may therefore readily believe, that they were unquiet neighbours, and had no great regard to right, which they believed us no longer able to enforce.

That in forming a line of forts behind our colonies, if in no other part of their attempt, they had acted againſt the general intention, if not againſt the literal terms of treaties, can ſcarcely be denied; for it never can be ſuppoſed that we intended to be encloſed between the ſea and the *French* garriſons, or preclude ourſelves from extending our plantations backwards to any length that our convenience ſhould require.

With dominion is conferred every thing that can ſecure dominion. He that has the coaſt, has likewiſe the ſea to a certain diſtance; he that poſſeſſes a fortreſs, has the right of prohibiting another fortreſs to be built within the command of its cannon. When therefore we planted the coaſt of *North-America*, we ſuppoſed the poſſeſſion of the inland region granted to an indefinite

Digitized by Google

indefinite extent, and every nation that ſettled in that part of the world, ſeems, by the permiſſion of every other nation, to have made the ſame ſuppoſition in its own favour.

Here then, perhaps, it will be ſafeſt to fix the juſtice of our cauſe; here we are apparently and indiſputably injured, and this injury may, according to the practice of nations, be juſtly reſented. Whether we have not in return made ſome encroachments upon them, muſt be left doubtful, till our practices on the *Ohio* ſhall be ſtated and vindicated. There are no two nations confining on each other, between whom a war may not always be kindled with plauſible pretences on either part, as there is always paſſing between them a reciprocation of injuries, and fluctuation of encroachments.

From the concluſion of the laſt peace perpetual complaints of the ſupplantations and invaſions of the *French* have been ſent to *Europe* from our colonies, and tranſmitted to our miniſters at *Paris*, where good words were ſometimes given us, and the practices of the *American* commanders were ſometimes diſowned, but no redreſs was ever obtained, nor is it probable that any prohibition was ſent to *America*. We were ſtill amuſed with ſuch doubtful promiſes as thoſe who are afraid of war are ready to interpret in their own favour, and the *French* puſhed forward their line of fortreſſes, and ſeemed to reſolve that before our complaints were finally diſmiſſed, all remedy ſhould be hopeleſs.

We likewiſe endeavoured at the ſame time to form a barrier againſt the *Canadians* by ſending a colony to *New Scotland*, a cold uncomfortable tract of ground, of which we had long the nominal poſ-

ſeſſion

Digitized by Google

ſeſſion before we really began to occupy it. To this thoſe were invited whom the ceſſation of war deprived of employment, and made burthenſome to their country; and ſettlers were allured thither by many fallacious deſcriptions of fertile vallies and clear ſkies. What effects theſe pictures of *American* happineſs had upon my countrymen, I was never informed, but I ſuppoſe very few ſought proviſion in thoſe frozen regions, whom guilt or poverty did not drive from their native country. About the boundaries of this new colony there were ſome diſputes, but as there was nothing yet worth a conteſt, the power of the *French* was not much exerted on that ſide; ſome diſturbance was however given, and ſome ſkirmiſhes enſued. But perhaps being peopled chiefly with ſoldiers, who would rather live by plunder than by agriculture, and who conſider war as their beſt trade, *New-Scotland* would be more obſtinately defended than ſome ſettlements of far greater value; and the *French* are too well informed of their own intereſt, to provoke hoſtility for no advantage, or to ſelect that country for invaſion, where they muſt hazard much and can win little. They therefore preſſed on ſouthward behind our ancient and wealthy ſettlements, and built fort after fort at ſuch diſtances that they might conveniently relieve one another, invade our colonies with ſudden incurſions, and retire to places of ſafety before our people could unite to oppoſe them.

This deſign of the *French* has been long formed, and long known, both in *America* and *Europe*, and might at firſt have been eaſily repreſſed, had force been uſed inſtead of expoſtulation. When the *Engliſh* attempted a ſettlement upon the iſland of *St. Lucia*,

Digitized by Google

the *French*, whether juſtly or not, conſidering it as neutral and forbidden to be occupied by either nation, immediately landed upon it, and deſtroyed the houſes, waſted the plantations, and drove or carried away the inhabitants. This was done in the time of peace, when mutual profeſſions of friendſhip were daily exchanged by the two courts, and was not conſidered as any violation of treaties, nor was any more than a very ſoft remonſtrance made on our part.

The *French* therefore taught us how to act; but an *Hanoverian* quarrel with the houſe of *Auſtria* for ſome time induced us to court, at any expence, the alliance of a nation whoſe very ſituation makes them our enemies. We ſuffered them to deſtroy our ſettlements, and to advance their own, which we had an equal right to attack. The time however came at laſt, when we ventured to quarrel with *Spain*, and then *France* no longer ſuffered the appearance of peace to ſubſiſt between us, but armed in defence of her ally.

The events of the war are well known; we pleaſed ourſelves with a victory at *Dettingen*, where we left our wounded men to the care of our enemies, but our army was broken at *Fontenoy* and *Val*; and though after the diſgrace which we ſuffered in the *Mediterranean*, we had ſome naval ſucceſs, and an accidental dearth made peace neceſſary for the *French*, yet they preſcribed the conditions, obliged us to give hoſtages, and acted as conquerors, though as conquerors of moderation.

In this war the *Americans* diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a manner unknown and unexpected. The *New-Engliſh* raiſed an army, and under the command of *Pepperel* took *Cape-Breton*, with the aſſiſtance of the fleet.

Digitized by Google

fleet. This is the moſt important fortreſs in *America*. We pleaſed ourſelves ſo much with the acquiſition, that we could not think of reſtoring it; and, among the arguments uſed to enflame the people againſt *Charles Stuart*, it was very clamorouſly urged, that if he gained the kingdom, he would give *Cape-Breton* back to the *French*.

The *French* however had a more eaſy expedient to regain *Cape-Breton* than by exalting *Charles Stuart* to the *Engliſh* throne. They took in their turn fort *St. George*, and had our *Eaſt-India* Company wholly in their power, whom they reſtored at the peace to their former poſſeſſions, that they may continue to export our ſilver.

Cape-Breton therefore was reſtored, and the *French* were re-eſtabliſhed in *America*, with equal power and greater ſpirit, having loſt nothing by the war which they had before gained.

To the general reputation of their arms, and that habitual ſuperiority which they derive from it, they owe their power in *America*, rather than to any real ſtrength, or circumſtances of advantage. Their numbers are yet not great; their trade, though daily improved, is not very extenſive; their country is barren; their fortreſſes, though numerous, are weak, and rather ſhelters from wild beaſts, or ſavage nations, than places built for defence againſt bombs or cannons. *Cape-Breton* has been found not to be impregnable; nor, if we conſider the ſtate of the places poſſeſſed by the two nations in *America*, is there any reaſon upon which the *French* ſhould have preſumed to moleſt us, but that they thought our ſpirit ſo broken that we

Digitized by Google

durſt not reſiſt them; and in this opinion our long forbearance eaſily confirmed them.

We forgot, or rather avoided to think, that what we delayed to do muſt be done at laſt, and done with more difficulty, as it was delayed longer; that while we were complaining, and they were eluding, or anſwering our complaints, fort was riſing upon fort, and one invaſion made a precedent for another.

This confidence of the *French* is exalted by ſome real advantages. If they poſſeſs in thoſe countries leſs than we, they have more to gain, and leſs to hazard; if they are leſs numerous, they are better united.

The *French* compoſe one body with one head. They have all the ſame intereſt, and agree to purſue it by the ſame means. They are ſubject to a governor commiſſioned by an abſolute monarch, and participating the authority of his maſter. Deſigns are therefore formed without debate, and executed without impediment. They have yet more martial than mercantile ambition, and ſeldom ſuffer their military ſchemes to be entangled with collateral projects of gain: they have no wiſh but for conqueſt, of which they juſtly conſider riches as the conſequence.

Some advantages they will always have as invaders. They make war at the hazard of their enemies: the conteſt being carried on in our territories, we muſt loſe more by a victory, than they will ſuffer by a defeat. They will ſubſiſt, while they ſtay, upon our plantations; and perhaps deſtroy them when they can ſtay no longer. If we purſue them, and carry the war into their dominions, our difficulties will increaſe every

Digitized by Google

every ſtep as we advance, for we ſhall leave plenty behind us, and find nothing in *Canada* but lakes and foreſts barren and trackleſs; our enemies will ſhut themſelves up in their forts, againſt which it is difficult to bring cannon through ſo rough a country, and which, if they are provided with good magazines, will ſoon ſtarve thoſe who beſiege them.

All theſe are the natural effects of their government and ſituation; they are accidentally more formidable as they are leſs happy. But the favour of the *Indians* which they enjoy, with very few exceptions, among all the nations of the northern continent, we ought to conſider with other thoughts; this favour we might have enjoyed, if we had been careful to deſerve it. The *French*, by having theſe ſavage nations on their ſide, are always ſupplied with ſpies and guides, and with auxiliaries, like the *Tartars* to the *Turks*, or the *Huſſars* to the *Germans*, of no great uſe againſt troops ranged in order of battle, but very well qualified to maintain a war among woods and rivulets, where much miſchief may be done by unexpected onſets, and ſafety be obtained by quick retreats. They can waſte a colony by ſudden inroads, ſurprize the ſtraggling planters, frighten the inhabitants into towns, hinder the cultivation of lands, and ſtarve thoſe whom they are not able to conquer.

Digitized by Google

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

Political State of *Great-Britain.*

Written in the Year 1756.

THE preſent ſyſtem of *Engliſh* politics may properly be ſaid to have taken riſe in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth.* At this time, the Proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed, which naturally allied us to the reformed ſtate, and made all the popiſh powers our enemies.

We began in the ſame reign to extend our trade, by which we made it neceſſary to ourſelves to watch the commercial progreſs of our neighbours; and, if not to incommode and obſtruct their traffick, to hinder them from impairing ours.

We then likewiſe ſettled colonies in *America*, which was become the great ſcene of *European* ambition; for, ſeeing with what treaſures the *Spaniards* were annually enriched from *Mexico* and *Peru*, every nation imagined, that an *American* conqueſt or plantation would certainly fill the mother country with gold and ſilver. This produced a large extent of very diſtant dominions, of which we, at this time, neither

Digitized by Google

neither knew nor foreſaw the advantage or incumbrance: we ſeem to have ſnatched them into our hands, upon no very juſt principles of policy, only becauſe every ſtate, according to a prejudice of long continuance, concludes itſelf more powerful as its territories become larger.

The diſcoveries of new regions, which were then every day made, the profit of remote traffick, and the neceſſity of long voyages, produced, in a few years, a great multiplication of ſhipping. The ſea was conſidered as the wealthy element; and, by degrees, a new kind of ſovereignty aroſe, called naval dominion.

As the chief trade of the world, ſo the chief maritime power was at firſt in the hands of the *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards*, who by a compact, to which the conſent of other princes was not aſked, had divided the newly-diſcovered countries between them; but the crown of *Portugal* having fallen to the king of *Spain*, or being ſeized by him, he was maſter of the ſhips of the two nations, with which he kept all the coaſts of *Europe* in alarm, till the *Armada*, which he had raiſed at a vaſt expence for the conqueſt of *England*, was deſtroyed, which put a ſtop, and almoſt an end, to the naval power of the *Spaniards*.

At this time the *Dutch*, who were oppreſſed by the *Spaniards*, and feared yet greater evils than they felt, reſolved no longer to endure the inſolence of their maſters: they therefore revolted; and after a ſtruggle, in which they were aſſiſted by the money and forces of *Elizabeth*, erected an independent and powerful commonwealth.

When the inhabitants of the Low-Countries had

Digitized by Google

formed their ſyſtem of government, and ſome remiſſion of the war gave them leiſure to form ſchemes of future proſperity, they eaſily perceived, that as their territories were narrow, and their numbers ſmall, they could preſerve themſelves only by that power which is the conſequence of wealth; and that, by a people whoſe country produced only the neceſſaries of life, wealth was not to be acquired, but from foreign dominions, and by the tranſportation of the products of one country into another.

From this neceſſity, thus juſtly eſtimated, aroſe a plan of commerce, which was for many years proſecuted with induſtry and ſucceſs, perhaps never ſeen in the world before, and by which the poor tenants of mud-walled villages and impaſſable bogs, erected themſelves into high and mighty ſtates, who put the greateſt monarchs at defiance, whoſe alliance was courted by the proudeſt, and whoſe power was dreaded by the fierceſt nation. By the eſtabliſhment of this ſtate there aroſe to *England* a new ally, and a new rival.

At this time, which ſeems to be the period deſtined for the change of the face of *Europe*, *France* began firſt to riſe into power; and, from defending her own provinces with difficulty and fluctuating ſucceſs, to threaten her neighbours with incroachments and devaſtations. *Henry* the Fourth having, after a long ſtruggle, obtained the crown, found it eaſy to govern nobles exhauſted and wearied with a long civil war, and having compoſed the diſputes between the Proteſtants and Papiſts, ſo as to obtain at leaſt a truce for both parties, was at leiſure to accumulate treaſure, and raiſe forces which he purpoſed to have employed in a deſign of ſettling for ever

Digitized by Google

ever the balance of *Europe*. Of this great ſcheme he lived not to ſee the vanity, or to feel the diſappointment; for he was murdered in the midſt of his mighty preparations.

The *French*, however, were in this reign taught to know their own power; and the great deſigns of a king, whoſe wiſdom they had ſo long experienced, even though they were not brought to actual experiment, diſpoſed them to conſider themſelves as maſters of the deſtiny of their neighbours; and, from that time, he that ſhall nicely examine their ſchemes and conduct, will, I believe, find that they began to take an air of ſuperiority to which they had never pretended before; and that they have been always employed more or leſs openly upon ſchemes of dominion, though with frequent interruptions from domeſtick troubles, and with thoſe intermiſſions which human counſels muſt always ſuffer, as men intruſted with great affairs are diſſipated in youth, and languid in age, are embarraſſed by competitors, or, without any external reaſon, change their minds.

France was now no longer in dread of inſults and invaſions from *England*. She was not only able to maintain her own territories, but prepared, on all occaſions, to invade others; and we had now a neighbour whoſe intereſt it was to be an enemy, and who has diſturbed us, from that time to this, with open hoſtility or ſecret machinations.

Such was the ſtate of *England* and its neighbours, when *Elizabeth* left the crown to *James* of *Scotland*. It has not, I think, been frequently obſerved by hiſtorians at how critical a time the union of the two

Digitized by Google

two kingdoms happened. Had *England* and *Scotland* continued ſeparate kingdoms, when *France* was eſtabliſhed in the full poſſeſſion of her natural power, the *Scots*, in continuance of the league, which it would now have been more than ever their intereſt to obſerve, would, upon every inſtigation of the *French* court, have raiſed an army with *French* money, and haraſſed us with an invaſion, in which they would have thought themſelves ſucceſsful, whatever numbers they might have left behind them. To a people warlike and indigent, an incurſion into a rich country is never hurtful. The pay of *France* and the plunder of the northern counties, would always have tempted them to hazard their lives, and we ſhould have been under a neceſſity of keeping a line of garriſons along our border.

This trouble, however, we eſcaped by the acceſſion of king *James*; but it is uncertain, whether his natural diſpoſition did not injure us more than this accidental condition happened to benefit us. He was a man of great theoretical knowledge, but of no practical wiſdom; he was very well able to diſcern the true intereſt of himſelf, his kingdom, and his poſterity, but ſacrificed it, upon all occaſions, to his preſent pleaſure or his preſent eaſe; ſo conſcious of his own knowledge and abilities, that he would not ſuffer a miniſter to govern, and ſo lax of attention, and timorous of oppoſition, that he was not able to govern for himſelf. With this character *James* quietly ſaw the *Dutch* invade our commerce; the *French* grew every day ſtronger and ſtronger; and the Proteſtant intereſt, of which he boaſted himſelf the head, was oppreſſed

Digitized by Google

oppreſſed on every ſide, while he writ, and hunted, and diſpatched ambaſſadors, who, when their maſter's weakneſs was once known, were treated in foreign courts with very little ceremony. *James*, however, took care to be flattered at home, and was neither angry nor aſhamed at the appearance that he made in other countries.

Thus *England* grew weaker, or, what is in political eſtimation the ſame thing, ſaw her neighbours grow ſtronger, without receiving proportionable additions to her own power. Not that the miſchief was ſo great as it is generally conceived or repreſented; for, I believe, it may be made to appear, that the wealth of the nation was, in this reign, very much increaſed, though that of the crown was leſſened. Our reputation for war was impaired; but commerce ſeems to have been carried on with great induſtry and vigour, and nothing was wanting, but that we ſhould have defended ourſelves from the incroachments of our neighbours.

The inclination to plant colonies in *America* ſtill continued, and this being the only project in which men of adventure and enterpriſe could exert their qualities in a pacifick reign, multitudes, who were diſcontented with their condition in their native country, and ſuch multitudes there will always be, ſought relief, or at leaſt a change in the weſtern regions, where they ſettled in the northern part of the continent, at a diſtance from the *Spaniards*, at that time almoſt the only nation that had any power or will to obſtruct us.

Such

Digitized by Google

Such was the condition of this country when the unhappy *Charles* inherited the crown. He had ſeen the errors of his father, without being able to prevent them, and, when he began his reign, endeavoured to raiſe the nation to its former dignity. The *French* Papiſts had begun a new war upon the Proteſtants: *Charles* ſent a fleet to invade *Rhée* and relieve *Rochelle*, but his attempts were defeated, and the Proteſtants were ſubdued. The *Dutch*, grown wealthy and ſtrong, claimed the right of fiſhing in the *Britiſh* ſeas: this claim the king, who ſaw the increaſing power of the ſtates of *Holland*, reſolved to conteſt. But for this end it was neceſſary to build a fleet, and a fleet could not be built without expence: he was adviſed to levy ſhip-money, which gave occaſion to the Civil War, of which the events and concluſion are too well known.

While the inhabitants of this iſland were embroiled among themſelves, the power of *France* and *Holland* was every day increaſing. The *Dutch* had overcome the difficulties of their infant commonwealth; and as they ſtill retained their vigour and induſtry, from rich grew continually richer, and from powerful more powerful. They extended their traffick, and had not yet admitted luxury; ſo that they had the means and the will to accumulate wealth without any incitement to ſpend it. The *French*, who wanted nothing to make them powerful, but a prudent regulation of their revenues, and a proper uſe of their natural advantages, by the ſucceſſive care of ſkilful miniſters, became every day ſtronger, and more conſcious of their ſtrength.

About

Digitized by Google

About this time it was, that the *French* firſt began to turn their thoughts to traffick and navigation, and to deſire like other nations an *American* territory. All the fruitful and valuable parts of the weſtern world were already either occupied or claimed, and nothing remained for *France* but the leavings of other navigators, for ſhe was not yet haughty enough to ſeize what the neighbouring powers had already appropriated.

The *French* therefore contented themſelves with ſending a colony to *Canada*, a cold uncomfortable uninviting region, from which nothing but furs and fiſh were to be had, and where the new inhabitants could only paſs a laborious and neceſſitous life, in perpetual regret of the deliciouſneſs and plenty of their native country.

Notwithſtanding the opinion which our countrymen have been taught to entertain of the comprehenſion and foreſight of *French* politicians, I am not able to perſuade myſelf, that when this colony was firſt planted, it was thought of much value, even by thoſe that encouraged it; there was probably nothing more intended than to provide a drain into which the waſte of an exuberant nation might be thrown, a place where thoſe who could do no good might live without the power of doing miſchief. Some new advantage they undoubtedly ſaw, or imagined themſelves to ſee, and what more was neceſſary to the eſtabliſhment of the colony was ſupplied by natural inclination to experiments, and that impatience of doing nothing, to which mankind perhaps owe much of what is imagined to be effected by more ſplendid motives.

In

Digitized by Google

In this region of deſolate ſterility they ſettled themſelves, upon whatever principle; and as they have from that time had the happineſs of a government by which no intereſt has been neglected, nor any part of their ſubjects overlooked, they have, by continual encouragement and aſſiſtance from *France*, been perpetually enlarging their bounds and increaſing their numbers.

Theſe were at firſt, like other nations who invaded *America*, inclined to conſider the neighbourhood of the natives, as troubleſome and dangerous, and are charged with having deſtroyed great numbers: but they are now grown wiſer, if not honeſter, and inſtead of endeavouring to frighten the *Indians* away, they invite them to intermarriage and cohabitation, and allure them by all practicable methods to become the ſubjects of the king of *France*.

If the *Spaniards*, when they firſt took poſſeſſion of the newly-diſcovered world, inſtead of deſtroying the inhabitants by thouſands, had either had the urbanity or the policy to have conciliated them by kind treatment, and to have united them gradually to their own people, ſuch an acceſſion might have been made to the power of the king of *Spain*, as would have made him far the greateſt monarch that ever yet ruled in the globe; but the opportunity was loſt by fooliſhneſs and cruelty, and now can never be recovered.

When the parliament had finally prevailed over our king, and the army over the parliament, the intereſt of the two commonwealths of *England* and *Holland* ſoon appeared to be oppoſite, and a new government declared war againſt the *Dutch*. In this

Digitized by Google

conteſt was exerted the utmoſt power of the two nations, and the *Dutch* were finally defeated, yet not with ſuch evidence of ſuperiority as left us much reaſon to boaſt our victory; they were obliged however to ſolicit peace, which was granted them on eaſy conditions; and *Cromwell*, who was now poſſeſſed of the ſupreme power, was left at leiſure to purſue other deſigns.

The *European* powers had not yet ceaſed to look with envy on the *Spaniſh* acquiſitions in *America*, and therefore *Cromwell* thought, that if he gained any part of theſe celebrated regions, he ſhould exalt his own reputation and enrich the country. He therefore quarrelled with the *Spaniards* upon ſome ſuch ſubject of contention, as he that is reſolved upon hoſtility may always find, and ſent *Penn* and *Venables* into the weſtern ſeas. They firſt landed in *Hiſpaniola*, whence they were driven off with no great reputation to themſelves; and that they might not return without having done ſomething, they afterwards invaded *Jamaica*, where they found leſs reſiſtance, and obtained that iſland, which was afterwards conſigned to us, being probably of little value to the *Spaniards*, and continues to this day a place of great wealth, and dreadful wickedneſs, a den of tyrants, and a dungeon of ſlaves.

Cromwell, who perhaps had not leiſure to ſtudy foreign politicks, was very fatally miſtaken with regard to *Spain* and *France*. *Spain* had been the laſt power in *Europe*, which had openly pretended to give law to other nations, and the memory of this terror remained when the real cauſe was at an end. We had more lately been frighted by *Spain* than by *France*, and

Digitized by Google

and though very few were then alive of the generation that had their ſleep broken by the *Armada*, yet the name of the *Spaniards* was ſtill terrible, and a war againſt them was pleaſing to the people.

Our own troubles had left us very little deſire to look out upon the continent, an inveterate prejudice hindered us from perceiving, that for more than half a century the power of *France* had been increaſing, and that of *Spain* had been growing leſs; nor does it ſeem to have been remembered, which yet required no great depth of policy to diſcern, that of two monarchs, neither of which could be long our friend, it was our intereſt to have the weaker near us; or that if a war ſhould happen, *Spain*, however wealthy or ſtrong in herſelf, was by the diſperſion of her territories more obnoxious to the attacks of a naval power, and conſequently had more to fear from us, and had it leſs in her power to hurt us.

All theſe conſiderations were overlooked by the wiſdom of that age, and *Cromwell* aſſiſted the *French* to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Flanders*, at a time when it was our intereſt to have ſupported the *Spaniards* againſt *France*, as formerly the *Hollanders* againſt *Spain*, by which we might at leaſt have retarded the growth of the *French* power, though I think it muſt have finally prevailed.

During this time our colonies, which were leſs diſturbed by our commotions than the mother-country, naturally increaſed; it is probable that many who were unhappy at home took ſhelter in thoſe remote regions, where, for the ſake of inviting

Digitized by Google

viting greater numbers, every one was allowed to think and live his own way. The *French* ſettlement in the mean time went ſlowly forward, too inconſiderable to raiſe any jealouſy, and too weak to attempt any encroachments.

When *Cromwell* died, the confuſions that followed produced the reſtoration of monarchy, and ſome time was employed in repairing the ruins of our conſtitution, and reſtoring the nation to a ſtate of peace. In every change there will be many that ſuffer real or imaginary grievances, and therefore many will be diſſatisfied. This was, perhaps, the reaſon why ſeveral colonies had their beginning in the reign of *Charles* the Second. The *Quakers* willingly ſought refuge in *Pennſylvania*; and it is not unlikely that *Carolina* owed its inhabitants to the remains of that reſtleſs diſpoſition, which had given ſo much diſturbance to our country, and had now no opportunity of acting at home.

The *Dutch* ſtill continuing to increaſe in wealth and power, either kindled the reſentment of their neighbours by their inſolence, or raiſed their envy by their proſperity. *Charles* made war upon them without much advantage: but they were obliged at laſt to confeſs him the ſovereign of the narrow ſeas. They were reduced almoſt to extremities by an invaſion from *France*; but ſoon recovered from their conſternation, and, by the fluctuation of war, regained their cities and provinces with the ſame ſpeed as they had loſt them.

During the time of *Charles* the Second the power of *France* was every day increaſing; and *Charles*, who never diſturbed himſelf with remote conſe-

Digitized by Google

quences, ſaw the progreſs of her arms, and the extenſion of her dominions, with very little uneaſineſs. He was indeed ſometimes driven by the prevailing faction into confederacies againſt her; but as he had, probably, a ſecret partiality in her favour, he never perſevered long in acting againſt her, nor ever acted with much vigour: ſo that, by his feeble reſiſtance, he rather raiſed her confidence than hindered her deſigns.

About this time the *French* firſt began to perceive the advantage of commerce, and the importance of a naval force; and ſuch encouragement was given to manufactures, and ſo eagerly was every project received by which trade could be advanced, that, in a few years, the ſea was filled with their ſhips, and all the parts of the world crouded with their merchants. There is, perhaps, no inſtance in human ſtory of ſuch a change produced, in ſo ſhort a time, in the ſchemes and manners of a people, of ſo many new ſources of wealth opened, and ſuch numbers of artificers and merchants made to ſtart out of the ground, as was ſeen in the miniſtry of *Colbert*.

Now it was that the power of *France* became formidable to *England*. Her dominions were large before, and her armies numerous; but her operations were neceſſarily confined to the continent. She had neither ſhips for the tranſportation of her troops, nor money for their ſupport in diſtant expeditions. *Colbert* ſaw both theſe wants, and ſaw that commerce only would ſupply them. The fertility of their country furniſhes the *French* with commodities; the poverty of the common people keeps the price of labour low.

By

Digitized by Google

By the obvious practice of selling much and buying little, it was apparent that they would soon draw the wealth of other countries into their own; and by carrying out their merchandize in their own vessels, a numerous body of sailors would quickly be raised.

This was projected, and this was performed. The king of *France* was soon enabled to bribe those whom he could not conquer, and to terrify with his fleets those whom his armies could not have approached. The influence of *France* was suddenly diffused all over the globe; her arms were dreaded, and her pensions received in remote regions, and those were almost ready to acknowledge her sovereignty, who, a few years before, had scarcely heard her name. She thundered on the coasts of *Africa*, and received ambassadors from *Siam*.

So much may be done by one wise man endeavouring with honesty the advantage of the publick. But that we may not rashly condemn all ministers as wanting wisdom or integrity, whose counsels have produced no such apparent benefits to their country, it must be considered, that *Colbert* had means of acting, which our government does not allow. He could enforce all his orders by the power of an absolute monarch; he could compel individuals to sacrifice their private profit to the general good; he could make one understanding preside over many hands, and remove difficulties by quick and violent expedients. Where no man thinks himself under any obligation to submit to another, and, instead of co-operating in one great scheme, every one hastens through by-paths to private profit, no great change

Digitized by Google

can ſuddenly be made; nor is ſuperior knowledge of much effect, where every man reſolves to uſe his own eyes and his own judgment, and every one applauds his own dexterity and diligence, in proportion as he becomes rich ſooner than his neighbour.

Colonies are always the effects and cauſes of navigation. They who viſit many countries find ſome in which pleaſure, profit, or ſafety invite them to ſettle; and theſe ſettlements, when they are once made, muſt keep a perpetual correſpondence with the original country to which they are ſubject, and on which they depend for protection in danger, and ſupplies in neceſſity. So that a country once diſcovered and planted, muſt always find employment for ſhipping, more certainly than any foreign commerce, which, depending on caſualties, may be ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs, and which other nations may contract or ſuppreſs. A trade to colonies can never be much impaired, being, in reality, only an intercourſe between diſtant provinces of the ſame empire, from which intruders are eaſily excluded; likewiſe the intereſt and affection of the correſpondent parties, however diſtant, is the ſame.

On this reaſon all nations, whoſe power has been exerted on the ocean, have fixed colonies in remote parts of the world; and while thoſe colonies ſubſiſted, navigation, if it did not increaſe, was always preſerved from total decay. With this policy the *French* were well acquainted, and therefore improved and augmented the ſettlements in *America*, and other regions, in proportion as they advanced their ſchemes of naval greatneſs.

The

Digitized by Google

The exact time in which they made their acquisitions in *America*, or other quarters of the globe, it is not neceſſary to collect. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that their trade and their colonies increaſed together; and, if their naval armaments were carried on, as they really were, in greater proportion to their commerce, than can be practiſed in other countries, it muſt be attributed to the martial diſpoſition at that time prevailing in the nation, to the frequent wars which *Lewis* the Fourteenth made upon his neighbours, and to the extenſive commerce of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, which afforded ſo much plunder to privateers, that war was more lucrative than traffick.

Thus the naval power of *France* continued to increaſe during the reign of *Charles* the Second, who, between his fondneſs of eaſe and pleaſure, the ſtruggles of faction which he could not ſuppreſs, and his inclination to the friendſhip of abſolute monarchy, had not much power or deſire to repreſs it. And of *James* the Second, it could not be expected that he ſhould act againſt his neighbours with great vigour, having the whole body of his ſubjects to oppoſe. He was not ignorant of the real intereſt of his country; he deſired its power and its happineſs, and thought rightly, that there is no happineſs without religion; but he thought very erroneouſly and abſurdly, that there is no religion without popery.

When the neceſſity of ſelf-preſervation had impelled the ſubjects of *James* to drive him from the throne, there came a time in which the paſſions, as well as intereſt of the government, acted againſt the *French*, and in which it may perhaps be reaſon-

Digitized by Google

ably doubted, whether the deſire of humbling *France* was not ſtronger than that of exalting *England:* of this, however, it is not neceſſary to inquire, ſince, though the intention may be different, the event will be the ſame. All mouths were now open to declare what every eye had obſerved before, that the arms of *France* were become dangerous to *Europe*; and that, if her encroachments were ſuffered a little longer, reſiſtance would be too late.

It was now determined to re-aſſert the empire of the ſea; but it was more eaſily determined than performed; the *French* made a vigorous defence againſt the united power of *England* and *Holland*, and were ſometimes maſters of the ocean, though the two maritime powers were united againſt them. At length, however, they were defeated at *La Hogue*; a great part of their fleet was deſtroyed, and they were reduced to carry on the war only with their privateers, from whom there was ſuffered much petty miſchief, though there was no danger of conqueſt or invaſion. They diſtreſſed our merchants, and obliged us to the continual expenſe of convoys and fleets of obſervation; and, by ſkulking in little coves and ſhallow waters, eſcaped our purſuit.

In this reign began our confederacy with the *Dutch*, which mutual intereſt has now improved into a friendſhip, conceived by ſome to be inſeparable; and from that time the States began to be termed, in the ſtile of politicians, our faithful friends, the allies which Nature has given us, our Proteſtant confederates, and by many other names of national endearment. We have, it is true, the ſame intereſt, as oppoſed

Digitized by Google

poſed to *France*, and ſome reſemblance of religion, as oppoſed to popery; but we have ſuch a rivalry, in reſpect of commerce, as will always keep us from very cloſe adherence to each other. No mercantile man, or mercantile nation, has any friendſhip but for money, and alliance between them will laſt no longer than their common ſafety or common profit is endangered; no longer than they have an enemy, who threatens to take from each more than either can ſteal from the other.

We were both ſufficiently intereſted in repreſſing the ambition, and obſtructing the commerce of *France*; and therefore we concurred with as much fidelity and as regular co-operation as is commonly found. The *Dutch* were in immediate danger, the armies of their enemies hovered over their country, and therefore they were obliged to diſmiſs for a time their love of money, and their narrow projects of private profit, and to do what a trader does not willingly at any time believe neceſſary, to ſacrifice a part for the preſervation of the whole.

A peace was at length made, and the *French* with their uſual vigour and induſtry rebuilt their fleets, reſtored their commerce, and became in a very few years able to conteſt again the dominion of the ſea. Their ſhips were well-built, and always very numerouſly manned; their commanders, having no hopes but from their bravery or their fortune, were reſolute, and being very carefully educated for the ſea, were eminently ſkilful.

All this was ſoon perceived, when queen *Anne*, the then darling of *England*, declared war againſt

Digitized by Google

France. Our ſucceſs by ſea, though ſufficient to keep us from dejection, was not ſuch as dejected our enemies. It is, indeed, to be confeſſed, that we did not exert our whole naval ſtrength; *Marlborough* was the governor of our counſels, and the great view of *Marlborough* was a war by land, which he knew well how to conduct, both to the honour of his country, and his own profit. The fleet was therefore ſtarved that the army might be ſupplied, and naval advantages were neglected for the ſake of taking a town in *Flanders*, to be garriſoned by our allies. The *French*, however, were ſo weakened by one defeat after another, that, though their fleet was never deſtroyed by any total overthrow, they at laſt retained it in their harbours, and applied their whole force to the reſiſtance of the confederate army, that now began to approach their frontiers, and threatened to lay waſte their provinces and cities.

In the latter years of this war, the danger of their neighbourhood in *America* ſeems to have been conſidered, and a fleet was fitted out and ſupplied with a proper number of land forces to ſeize *Quebec*, the capital of *Canada*, or *New France*; but this expedition miſcarried, like that of *Anſon* againſt the *Spaniards*, by the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, and our ignorance of the coaſts on which we were to act. We returned with loſs, and only excited our enemies to greater vigilance, and perhaps to ſtronger fortifications.

When the peace of *Utrecht* was made, which thoſe who clamoured among us moſt loudly againſt it, found it their intereſt to keep, the *French* applied themſelves with the utmoſt induſtry to the extenſion of

Digitized by Google

of their trade, which we were ſo far from hindering, that for many years our miniſtry thought their friendſhip of ſuch value, as to be cheaply purchaſed by whatever conceſſion.

Inſtead therefore of oppoſing, as we had hitherto profeſſed to do, the boundleſs ambition of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, we became on a ſudden ſolicitous for its exaltation, and ſtudious of its intereſt. We aſſiſted the ſchemes of *France* and *Spain* with our fleets, and endeavoured to make thoſe our friends by ſervility, whom nothing but power will keep quiet, and who muſt always be our enemies while they are endeavouring to grow greater, and we determine to remain free.

That nothing might be omitted which could teſtify our willingneſs to continue on any terms the good friends of *France*, we were content to aſſiſt not only their conqueſts but their traffick; and though we did not openly repeal the prohibitory laws, we yet tamely ſuffered commerce to be carried on between the two nations, and wool was daily imported, to enable them to make cloth, which they carried to our markets and ſold cheaper than we.

During all this time, they were extending and ſtrengthening their ſettlements in *America*, contriving new modes of traffick, and framing new alliances with the *Indian* nations. They began now to find theſe northern regions, barren and deſolate as they are, ſufficiently valuable to deſire at leaſt a nominal poſſeſſion, that might furniſh a pretence for the excluſion of others; they therefore extended their claim to tracts of land, which they could never hope to occupy, took care

Digitized by Google

care to give their dominions an unlimited magnitude, have given in their maps the name of *Louiſiana* to a country, of which part is claimed by the *Spaniards*, and part by the *Engliſh*, without any regard to ancient boundaries, or prior diſcovery.

When the return of *Columbus* from his great voyage had filled all *Europe* with wonder and curioſity, *Henry* the Seventh ſent *Sebaſtian Cabot* to try what could be found for the benefit of *England*; he declined the track af *Columbus*, and ſteering to the weſtward, fell upon the iſland, which, from that time, was called by the *Engliſh*, *Newfoundland*. Our princes ſeem to have conſidered themſelves as entitled by their right of prior ſeizure to the northern parts of *America*, as the *Spaniards* were allowed by univerſal conſent their claim to the ſouthern region for the ſame reaſon; and we accordingly made our principal ſettlements within the limits of our own diſcoveries, and, by degrees, planted the eaſtern coaſt from *Newfoundland* to *Georgia*.

As we had, according to the *European* principles, which allow nothing to the natives of theſe regions, our choice of ſituation in this extenſive country, we naturally fixed our habitations along the coaſt, for the ſake of traffick and correſpondence, and all the conveniencies of navigable rivers. And when one port or river was occupied, the next colony, inſtead of fixing themſelves in the inland parts behind the former, went on ſouthward, till they pleaſed themſelves with another maritime ſituation. For this reaſon our colonies have more length than depth; their extent from eaſt to weſt, or from the ſea to the interior country, bears no proportion to their reach along the coaſt from north to ſouth.

It

Digitized by Google

It was, however, underſtood, by a kind of tacit compact among the commercial powers, that poſſeſſion of the coaſt included a right to the inland: and, therefore, the charters granted to the ſeveral colonies limit their diſtricts only from north to ſouth, leaving their poſſeſſions from eaſt to weſt unlimited and diſcretional, ſuppoſing that as the colony increaſes, they may take lands as they ſhall want them, the poſſeſſion of the coaſts excluding other navigators, and the unhappy *Indians* having no right of nature or of nations.

This right of the firſt *European* poſſeſſor was not diſputed till it became the intereſt of the *French* to queſtion it. *Canada*, or *New-France*, on which they made their firſt ſettlement, is ſituated eaſtward of our colonies, between which they paſs up the great river of *St. Lawrence*, with *Newfoundland* on the north, and *Nova Scotia* on the ſouth. Their eſtabliſhment in this country was neither envied nor hindered; and they lived here, in no great numbers, a long time, neither moleſting their *European* neighbours, nor moleſted by them.

But when they grew ſtronger and more numerous, they began to extend their territories; and, as it is natural for men to ſeek their own convenience, the deſire of more fertile and agreeable habitations tempted them ſouthward. There is land enough to the north and weſt of their ſettlements, which they may occupy with as good right as can be ſhewn by the other *European* uſurpers, and which neither the *Engliſh* nor *Spaniards* will conteſt; but of this cold region they have enough already, and their reſolution was to get a better country. This was not to be had but by ſettling to the weſt

Digitized by Google

weſt of our plantations, on ground which has been hitherto ſuppoſed to belong to us.

Hither, therefore, they reſolved to remove, and to fix, at their own diſcretion, the weſtern border of our colonies, which was heretofore conſidered as unlimited. Thus by forming a line of forts, in ſome meaſure paralled to the coaſt, they incloſe us between their garriſons and the ſea, and not only hinder our extenſion weſtward, but, whenever they have a ſufficient navy in the ſea, can haraſs us on each ſide, as they can invade us at pleaſure from one or other of their forts.

This deſign was not perhaps diſcovered as ſoon as it was formed, and was certainly not oppoſed ſo ſoon as it was diſcovered; we fooliſhly hoped, that their encroachments would ſtop, that they would be prevailed on by treaty and remonſtrance, to give up what they had taken, or to put limits to themſelves. We ſuffered them to eſtabliſh one ſettlement after another, to paſs boundary after boundary, and add fort to fort, till at laſt they grew ſtrong enough to avow their deſigns, and defy us to obſtruct them.

By theſe provocations long continued, we are at length forced into a war, in which we have had hitherto very ill fortune. Our troops under *Braddock* were diſhonourably defeated; our fleets have yet done nothing more than taken a few merchant-ſhips, and have diſtreſſed ſome private families, but have very little weakened the power of *France*. The detention of their ſeamen makes it indeed leſs eaſy for them to fit out their navy; but this deficiency will be eaſily ſupplied by the alacrity of the nation, which is always eager for war.

It

Digitized by Google

It is unpleaſing to repreſent our affairs to our own diſadvantage; yet it is neceſſary to ſhew the evils which we deſire to be removed; and, therefore, ſome account may very properly be given of the meaſures which have given them their preſent ſuperiority.

They are ſaid to be ſupplied from *France* with better governors than our colonies have the fate to obtain from *England*. A *French* governor is ſeldom choſen for any other reaſon than his qualifications for his truſt. To be a bankrupt at home, or to be ſo infamouſly vicious that he cannot be decently protected in his own country, ſeldom recommends any man to the government of a *French* colony. Their officers are commonly ſkilful either in war or commerce, and are taught to have no expectation of honour or preferment, but from the juſtice and vigour of their adminiſtration.

Their great ſecurity is the friendſhip of the natives, and to this advantage they have certainly an indubitable right; becauſe it is the conſequence of their virtue. It is ridiculous to imagine, that the friendſhip of nations, whether civil or barbarous, can be gained and kept but by kind treatment; and ſurely they who intrude, uncalled, upon the country of a diſtant people, ought to conſider the natives as worthy of common kindneſs, and content themſelves to rob without inſulting them. The *French*, as has been already obſerved, admit the *Indians*, by intermarriage, to an equality with themſelves; and thoſe nations, with which they have no ſuch near intercourſe, they gain over to their intereſt by honeſty in their dealings. Our factors and traders, having no other purpoſe in view than immediate profit, uſe all the arts of an *European*

Digitized by Google

ropean counting-houſe, to defraud the ſimple hunter of his furs.

Theſe are ſome of the cauſes of our preſent weakneſs; our planters are always quarrelling with their governor, whom they conſider as leſs to be truſted than the *French*; and our traders hourly alienate the *Indians* by their tricks and oppreſſions, and we continue every day to ſhew by new proofs, that no people can be great who have ceaſed to be virtuous.

Digitized by Google

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

REVIEW

OF

MEMOIRS of the Court of AUGUSTUS;

By THOMAS BLACKWELL, J.U.D.

Principal of MARISHAL-COLLEGE in the Univerſity of ABERDEEN.

THE firſt effect which this book has upon the reader is that of diſguſting him with the author's vanity. He endeavours to perſuade the world, that here are ſome new treaſures of literature ſpread before his eyes; that ſomething is diſcovered, which to this happy day had been concealed in darkneſs; that by his diligence time had been robbed of ſome valuable monument which he was on the point of devouring; and that names and facts doomed to oblivion are now reſtored to fame.

How muſt the unlearned reader be ſurpriſed, when he ſhall be told that Mr. *Blackwell* has neither digged in the ruins of any demoliſhed city, nor found out the way to the library of *Fez*; nor had a ſingle book in his hands, that has not been in the poſſeſſion of every man that was inclined to read it, for years and ages; and that his book relates to a people who above all others have furniſhed employment to the ſtudious, and amuſe-

ments

Digitized by Google

ments to the idle, who have ſcarcely left behind them a coin or a ſtone, which has not been examined and explained a thouſand times, and whoſe dreſs, and food, and houſhold ſtuff, it has been the pride of learning to underſtand.

A man need not fear to incur the imputation of vicious diffidence or affected humility, who ſhould have forborn to promiſe many novelties, when he perceived ſuch multitudes of writers poſſeſſed of the ſame materials, and intent upon the ſame purpoſe. Mr. *Blackwell* knows well the opinion of *Horace*, concerning thoſe that open their undertakings with magnificent promiſes; and he knows likewiſe the dictates of common ſenſe and common honeſty, names of greater authority than that of *Horace*, who direct that no man ſhould promiſe what he cannot perform.

I do not mean to declare that this volume has nothing new, or that the labours of thoſe who have gone before our author, have made his performance an uſeleſs addition to the burden of literature. New works may be conſtructed with old materials, the diſpoſition of the parts may ſhew contrivance, the ornaments interſperſed may diſcover elegance.

It is not always without good effect that men of proper qualifications write in ſucceſſion on the ſame ſubject, even when the latter add nothing to the information given by the former; for the ſame ideas may be delivered more intelligibly or more delightfully by one than by another, or with attractions that may lure minds of a different form. No writer pleaſes all, and every writer may pleaſe ſome.

But after all, to inherit is not to acquire; to decorate is not to make; and the man who had no-

Digitized by Google

thing to do but to read the ancient authors, who mention the *Roman* affairs, and reduce them to common-places, ought not to boaſt himſelf as a great benefactor to the ſtudious world.

After a preface of boaſt, and a letter of flattery, in which he ſeems to imitate the addreſs of *Horace* in his *vile potabis modicis Sabinum*—he opens his book with telling us, that the "*Roman* republic, "after the horrible proſcription, was no more at "*bleeding Rome*. The regal power of her conſuls, "the authority of her ſenate, and the majeſty of "her people, were now trampled under foot; theſe "[for thoſe] divine laws and hallowed cuſtoms, that "had been the eſſence of her conſtitution—were ſet "at nought, and her beſt friends were lying expoſed "in their blood."

Theſe were ſurely very diſmal times to thoſe who ſuffered; but I know not why any one but a ſchool-boy in his declamation ſhould whine over the commonwealth of *Rome*, which grew great only by the miſery of the reſt of mankind. The *Romans*, like others, as ſoon as they grew rich grew corrupt, and, in their corruption, ſold the lives and freedoms of themſelves, and of one another.

"About this time *Brutus* had his patience put "to the *higheſt* trial: he had been married to *Clodia*; "but whether the family did not pleaſe him, or "whether he was diſſatisfied with the lady's be-"haviour during his abſence, he ſoon entertained "thoughts of a ſeparation. *This raiſed a good deal* "*of talk*, and the women of the *Clodian* family in-"veighed bitterly againſt *Brutus*—but he married "*Portia*, who was worthy of ſuch a father as *M.*

Digitized by Google

" *Cato*, and ſuch a huſband as *M. Brutus*. She had " a ſoul capable of an *exalted paſſion*, and found a " proper object to raiſe and give it a ſanction; ſhe " did not only love but adored her huſband; his " worth, his truth, his every ſhining and heroic " quality, made her gaze on him like a god, while " the endearing returns of eſteem and tenderneſs ſhe " met with, brought her joy, her pride, her every " wiſh to centre in her beloved *Brutus*."

When the reader has been awakened by this rapturous preparation, he hears the whole ſtory of *Portia* in the ſame luxuriant ſtyle, till ſhe breathed out her laſt, a little before the *bloody proſcription*, and " *Brutus* " complained heavily of his friends at *Rome*, as not " having paid due attention to his *Lady* in the declin- " ing ſtate of her health."

He is a great lover of modern terms. His ſenators and their wives are *Gentlemen* and *Ladies*. In this review of *Brutus*'s army, who *was under the command of gallant men, not braver officers, than true patriots*, he tells us, " that *Sextus the Queſtor was* " *Paymaſter, Secretary at War, and Commiſſary General,* " and that the *ſacred diſcipline* of the *Romans* required " the cloſeſt connection, like that of father and ſon, to " ſubſiſt between the General of an army and his Queſ- " tor. *Cicero was General of the Cavalry*, and the next " *general officer* was *Flavius, Maſter of the Artillery*, " the elder *Lentulus* was *Admiral*, and the younger *rode* " in the *Band of Volunteers*; under theſe the tribunes, " *with many others too tedious to name*." *Lentulus*, however, was but a ſubordinate officer; for we are informed afterwards, that the *Romans* had made *Sextus Pompeius Lord High Admiral in all the ſeas of their dominions*.

Among

Digitized by Google

Among other affectations of this writer is a furious and unneceſſary zeal for liberty, or rather for one form of government as preferable to another. This indeed might be ſuffered, becauſe political inſtitution is a ſubject in which men have always differed, and if they continue to obey their lawful governors, and attempt not to make innovations for the ſake of their favourite ſchemes, they may differ for ever without any juſt reproach from one another. But who can bear the hardy champion who ventures nothing? who in full ſecurity undertakes the defence of the aſſaſſination of *Cæſar*, and declares his reſolution *to ſpeak plain?* Yet let not juſt ſentiments be overlooked: he has juſtly obſerved, that the greater part of mankind will be naturally prejudiced againſt *Brutus*, for all feel the benefits of private friendſhip; but few can diſcern the advantages of a well-conſtituted government.

We know not whether ſome apology may not be neceſſary for the diſtance between the firſt account of this book and its continuation. The truth is, that this work not being forced upon our attention by much publick applauſe or cenſure, was ſometimes neglected, and ſometimes forgotten; nor would it, perhaps, have been now reſumed, but that we might avoid to diſappoint our readers by an abrupt deſertion of any ſubject.

It is not our deſign to criticiſe the facts of this hiſtory, but the ſtyle; not the veracity, but the addreſs of the writer; for, an account of the ancient *Romans*, as it cannot nearly intereſt any preſent reader, and muſt be drawn from writings that have been long known, can owe its value only to the language in

Digitized by Google

which it is delivered, and the reflections with which it is accompanied. Dr. *Blackwell*, however, ſeems to have heated his imagination ſo as to be much affected with every event, and to believe that he can affect others. Enthuſiaſm is indeed ſufficiently contagious; but I never found any of his readers much enamoured of the *glorious Pompey*, *the patriot approv'd*, or much incenſed againſt the *lawleſs Cæſar*, whom this author probably ſtabs every day and night in his ſleeping or waking dreams.

He is come too late into the world with his fury for freedom, with his *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. We have all on this ſide of the *Tweed* long ſince ſettled our opinions: his zeal for *Roman* liberty and declamations againſt the violators of the republican conſtitution, only ſtand now in the reader's way, who wiſhes to proceed in the narrative without the interruption of epithets and exclamations. It is not eaſy to forbear laughter at a man ſo bold in fighting ſhadows, ſo buſy in a diſpute two thouſand years paſt, and ſo zealous for the honour of a people who while they were poor robbed mankind, and as ſoon as they became rich, robbed one another. Of theſe robberies our author ſeems to have no very quick ſenſe, except when they are committed by *Cæſar*'s party, for every act is ſanctified by the name of a patriot.

If this author's ſkill in ancient literature were leſs generally acknowledged, one might ſometimes ſuſpect that he had too frequently conſulted the *French* writers. He tells us that *Archelaus* the *Rhodian* made a ſpeech to *Caſſius*, and *in ſo ſaying* dropt ſome tears, and that *Caſſius* after the reduction of *Rhodes*

Digitized by Google

was *covered with glory.*—*Deiotarus* was a keen and happy ſpirit—The ingrate *Caſtor* kept his court.

His great delight is to ſhew his univerſal acquaintance with terms of art, with words that every other polite writer has avoided and deſpiſed. When *Pompey* conquered the pirates, he deſtroyed fifteen hundred ſhips of the line.—The *Xanthian* parapets were tore down.—*Brutus*, ſuſpecting that his troops were plundering, commanded the trumpets to ſound to their colours.—Moſt people underſtood the act of attainder paſſed by the ſenate.—The *Numidian* troopers were unlikely in their appearance.—The *Numidians* beat up one quarter after another.—*Salvidienus* reſolved to paſs his men over in boats of leather, and he gave orders for equipping a ſufficient number of that ſort of ſmall craft.—*Pompey* had light agile frigates, and fought in a ſtrait where the current and caverns occaſion ſwirls and a roll.—A ſharp out-look was kept by the admiral.—It is a run of about fifty *Roman* miles.—*Brutus* broke *Lipella* in the ſight of the army.—*Mark Antony* garbled the ſenate.—He was a brave man, well qualified for a commodore.

In his choice of phraſes he frequently uſes words with great ſolemnity, which every other mouth and pen has appropriated to jocularity and levity! The *Rhodians* gave up the conteſt, and in poor plight fled back to *Rhodes*.—Boys and girls were eaſily kidnapped.—*Deiotarus* was a mighty believer of augury.—*Deiotarus* deſtroyed his ungracious progeny.—The regularity of the *Romans* was their mortal averſion.—They deſired the conſuls to curb ſuch heinous doings.—He had ſuch a ſhrewd invention,

Digitized by Google

that no ſide of a queſtion came amiſs to him.—*Brutus* found his miſtreſs a coquettiſh creature.

He ſometimes, with moſt unlucky dexterity, mixes the grand and the burleſque together; *the violation of faith, Sir,* ſays Caſſius, *lies at the door of the* Rhodians *by reiterated acts of perfidy.*—The iron grate fell down, cruſhed thoſe under it to death, and catched the reſt as in a trap.—When the *Xanthians* heard the military ſhout, and ſaw the flame mount, they concluded there would be no mercy. It was now about ſun-ſet, and they had been at hot work ſince noon.

He has often words or phraſes with which our language has hitherto had no knowledge.—One was a heart-friend to the republic.—A deed was expeded.—The *Numidians* begun to reel, and were in hazard of falling into confuſion.—The tutor embraced his pupil cloſe in his arms.—Four hundred women were taxed who have no doubt been the wives of the beſt *Roman* citizens.—Men not born to action are inconſequential in government — collectitious troops. — The foot by their violent attack began the fatal break in the *Pharſaliac* field.—He and his brother, with a politic common to other countries, had taken oppoſite ſides.

His epithets are of the gaudy or hyperbolical kind. The glorious news.—Eager hopes and diſmal fears.—Bleeding *Rome*—divine laws and hallowed cuſtoms—mercileſs war—intenſe anxiety.

Sometimes the reader is ſuddenly raviſhed with a ſonorous ſentence, of which when the noiſe is paſt the meaning does not long remain. When *Brutus* ſet his legions to fill a moat, inſtead of heavy dragging and ſlow toil, they ſet about it with huzzas and racing,

Digitized by Google

racing, as if they had been ſtriving at the *Olympic* games. They hurled impetuous down the huge trees and ſtones, and with ſhouts forced them into the water; ſo that the work, expected to continue half the campaign, was with rapid toil completed in a few days. *Brutus*'s ſoldiers fell to the gate with reſiſtleſs fury, it gave way at laſt with hideous craſh. —This great and good man, doing his duty to his country, received a mortal wound, and glorious fell in the cauſe of *Rome*; may his memory be ever dear to all lovers of liberty, learning and humanity!— This promiſe ought ever to embalm his memory.— The queen of nations was torn by no foreign invader. *Rome* fell a ſacrifice to her own ſons, and was ravaged by her unnatural offspring: all the great men of the ſtate, all the good, all the holy, were openly murdered by the wickedeſt and worſt.— Little iſlands cover the harbour of *Brindiſi*, and form the narrow outlet from the numerous creeks that compoſe its capacious port.—At the appearance of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* a ſhout of joy rent the heavens from the ſurrounding multitudes.

Such are the flowers which may be gathered by every hand in every part of this garden of eloquence. But having thus freely mentioned our Author's faults, it remains that we acknowledge his merit; and confeſs that this book is the work of a man of letters, that it is full of events diſplayed with accuracy, and related with vivacity; and though it is ſufficiently defective to cruſh the vanity of its Author, it is ſufficiently entertaining to invite readers.

Digitized by Google

REVIEW

OF

"FOUR LETTERS from Sir ISAAC "NEWTON to Dr. BENTLEY,

"CONTAINING

"Some Arguments in Proof of a DEITY."

IT will certainly be required, that notice ſhould be taken of a book, however ſmall, written on ſuch a ſubject, by ſuch an author. Yet I know not whether theſe Letters will be very ſatisfactory, for they are anſwers to inquiries not publiſhed; and therefore, though they contain many poſitions of great importance, are, in ſome parts, imperfect and obſcure, by their reference to Dr. *Bentley*'s Letters.

Sir *Iſaac* declares, that what he has done is *due to nothing but induſtry and patient thought*; and indeed long conſideration is ſo neceſſary in ſuch abſtruſe inquiries, that it is always dangerous to publiſh the productions of great men, which are not known to have been deſigned for the preſs, and of which it is uncertain whether much patience and thought have been beſtowed upon them. The principal queſtion of theſe Letters gives occaſion to obſerve how even the mind of *Newton* gains ground gradually upon darkneſs.

"As

Digitized by Google

"As to your firſt query," ſays he, "it ſeems to "me, that if the matter of our ſun and planets, and "all the matter of the univerſe, were evenly ſcattered "throughout all the heavens, and every particle had "an innate gravity towards all the reſt, and the whole "ſpace throughout which this matter was ſcattered, "was but finite; the matter on the outſide of this "ſpace would by its gravity tend towards all the "matter on the inſide, and by conſequence fall down "into the middle of the whole ſpace, and there com-"poſe one great ſpherical maſs. But if the matter "was evenly diſpoſed throughout an infinite ſpace, it "could never convene into one maſs; but ſome of it "would convene into one maſs, and ſome into ano-"ther, ſo as to make an infinite number of great "maſſes, ſcattered at great diſtances from one to ano-"ther throughout all that infinite ſpace. And thus "might the ſun and fixed ſtars be formed, ſuppoſing "the matter were of a lucid nature. But how the "matter ſhould divide itſelf into two ſorts, and that "part of it which is fit to compoſe a ſhining body, "ſhould fall down into one maſs and make a ſun, and "the reſt, which is fit to compoſe an opaque body, "ſhould coaleſce, not into one great body like the "ſhining matter, but into many little ones; or if the "ſun at firſt were an opaque body like the planets, or "the planets lucid bodies like the ſun, how he alone "ſhould be changed into a ſhining body, whilſt all "they continue opaque, or all they be changed into "opaque ones, whilſt he remains unchanged, I do not "think more explicable by mere natural cauſes, but "am forced to aſcribe it to the counſel and contri-"vance of a voluntary agent."

The

Digitized by Google

The hypotheſis of matter evenly diſpoſed through infinite ſpace, ſeems to labour with ſuch difficulties, as makes it almoſt a contradictory ſuppoſition, or a ſuppoſition deſtructive of itſelf.

Matter evenly diſpoſed through infinite ſpace, is either created or eternal; if it was created, it infers a Creator: if it was eternal, it had been from eternity *evenly ſpread through infinite ſpace*; or it had been once coaleſced in maſſes, and afterwards been diffuſed. Whatever ſtate was firſt, muſt have been from eternity, and what had been from eternity could not be changed, but by a cauſe beginning to act as it had never acted before, that is, by the voluntary act of ſome external power. If matter infinitely and evenly diffuſed was a moment without coalition, it could never coaleſce at all by its own power. If matter originally tended to coaleſce, it could never be evenly diffuſed through infinite ſpace. Matter being ſuppoſed eternal, there never was a time when it could be diffuſed before its conglobation, or conglobated before its diffuſion.

This Sir *Iſaac* ſeems by degrees to have underſtood: for he ſays, in his ſecond Letter, "The reaſon "why matter evenly ſcattered through a finite ſpace "would convene in the midſt, you conceive the ſame "with me; but that there ſhould be a central par- "ticle, ſo accurately placed in the middle, as to be "always equally attracted on all ſides, and thereby "continue without motion, ſeems to me a ſuppoſition "fully as hard as to make the ſharpeſt needle ſtand "upright upon its point on a looking-glaſs. For if "the very mathematical centre of the central particle "be not accurately in the very mathematical centre "of the attractive power of the whole maſs, the par- "ticle

Digitized by Google

" ticle will not be attracted equally on all ſides. And " much harder is it to ſuppoſe all the particles in an " infinite ſpace ſhould be ſo accurately poiſed one " among another, as to ſtand ſtill in a perfect equili- " brium. For I reckon this as hard as to make not " one needle only, but an infinite number of them (ſo " many as there are particles in an infinite ſpace) ſtand " accurately poiſed upon their points. Yet I grant it " poſſible, at leaſt by a divine power; and if they " were once to be placed, I agree with you that they " would continue in that poſture, without motion for " ever, unleſs put into new motion by the ſame power. " When therefore I ſaid, that matter evenly ſpread " through all ſpace, would convene by its gravity into " one or more great maſſes, I underſtand it of matter " not reſting in an accurate poiſe."

Let not it be thought irreverence to this great name, if I obſerve, that by *matter evenly ſpread* through infinite ſpace, he now finds it neceſſary to mean *matter not evenly ſpread*. Matter *not evenly ſpread* will indeed convene, but it will convene as ſoon as it exiſts. And, in my opinion, this puzzling queſtion about matter is only how *that could be that never could have been*, or what a man thinks on when he thinks of nothing.

Turn matter on all ſides, make it eternal, or of late production, finite or infinite, there can be no regular ſyſtem produced but by a voluntary and meaning agent. This the great *Newton* always aſſerted, and this he aſſerts in the third letter; but proves in another manner, in a manner perhaps more happy and concluſive.

" The

Digitized by Google

" The hypothesis of deriving the frame of the " world by mechanical principles from matter evenly " spread through the heavens being inconsistent with " my system, I had considered it very little before " your letter put me upon it, and therefore trouble " you with a line or two more about it, if this comes " not too late for your use.

" In my former I represented that the diurnal ro- " tations of the planets could not be derived from " gravity, but required a divine arm to impress them. " And though gravity might give the planets a mo- " tion of descent towards the sun, either directly, or " with some little obliquity, yet the transverse mo- " tions by which they revolve in their several orbs, " required the divine arm to impress them according " to the tangents of their orbs. I would now add, " that the hypothesis of matter's being at first evenly " spread through the heavens, is, in my opinion, in- " consistent with the hypothesis of innate gravity, " without a supernatural power to reconcile them, and " therefore it infers a Deity. For if there be innate " gravity it is impossible now for the matter of the " earth, and all the planets and stars, to fly up from " them, and become evenly spread throughout all the " heavens, without a supernatural power; and cer- " tainly that which can never be hereafter without a " supernatural power, could never be heretofore with- " out the same power."

Digitized by Google

REVIEW

OF 'A

'JOURNAL of EIGHT DAYS JOURNEY,

'from PORTSMOUTH to KINGSTON UPON THAMES,

'through SOUTHAMPTON, WILTSHIRE, &c.

'WITH

'Miſcellaneous THOUGHTS, moral and religious;

'IN SIXTY-FOUR LETTERS:

'Addreſſed to TWO LADIES of the Partie.

'To which is added,

'An ESSAY on TEA, conſidered as pernicious to Health, obſtructing Induſtry, and impoveriſhing the Nation: with an Account of its Growth, and great Conſumption in theſe Kingdoms; with ſeveral political Reflections; and Thoughts on Publick Love: in Thirty-two Letters to Two Ladies.

'By Mr. H*****.'

[From the Literary Magazine, Vol. II. N° xiii. 1757.]

OUR readers may perhaps remember, that we gave them a ſhort account of this book, with a letter extracted from it, in *November* 1756. The author then ſent us an injunction to forbear his work till a ſecond edition ſhould appear: this prohibition was rather too magiſterial; for an author is no longer the

Digitized by Google

the ſole maſter of a book which he has given to the publick; yet he has been punctually obeyed; we had no deſire to offend him, and if his character may be eſtimated by his book, he is a man whoſe failings may well be pardoned for his virtues.

The ſecond edition is now ſent into the world, *corrected and enlarged*, and yielded up by the author to the attacks of criticiſm. But he ſhall find in us no malignity of cenſure. We wiſh indeed, that among other corrections he had ſubmitted his pages to the inſpection of a grammarian, that the elegancies of one line might not have been diſgraced by the improprieties of another; but with us to mean well is a degree of merit which overbalances much greater errors than impurity of ſtyle.

We have already given in our collections one of the letters, in which Mr. *Hanway* endeavours to ſhow, that the conſumption of Tea is injurious to the intereſt of our country. We ſhall now endeavour to follow him regularly through all his obſervations on this modern luxury; but it can ſcarcely be candid, not to make a previous declaration, that he is to expect little juſtice from the author of this extract, a hardened and ſhameleſs Tea-drinker, who has for twenty years diluted his meals with only the infuſion of this faſcinating plant, whoſe kettle has ſcarcely time to cool, who with Tea amuſes the evening, with Tea ſolaces the midnight, and with Tea welcomes the morning.

He begins by refuting a popular notion, that Bohea and Green Tea are leaves of the ſame ſhrub, gathered at different times of the year. He is of opinion, that they are produced by different ſhrubs. The leaves of

Digitized by Google

of Tea are gathered in dry weather; then dried and curled over the fire in copper pans. The *Chineſe* uſe little Green Tea, imagining that it hinders digeſtion and excites fevers. How it ſhould have either effect is not eaſily diſcovered; and if we conſider the innumerable prejudices which prevail concerning our own plants, we ſhall very little regard theſe opinions of the *Chineſe* vulgar, which experience does not confirm.

When the *Chineſe* drink Tea, they infuſe it ſlightly, and extract only the more volatile parts; but though this ſeems to require great quantities at a time, yet the author believes, perhaps only becauſe he has an inclination to believe it, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* uſe more than all the inhabitants of that extenſive empire. The *Chineſe* drink it ſometimes with acids, ſeldom with ſugar; and this practice our author, who has no intention to find any thing right at home, recommends to his countrymen.

The hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of Tea-drinking is truly curious. Tea was firſt imported from *Holland* by the earls of *Arlington* and *Oſſory*, in 1666; from their ladies the women of quality learned its uſe. Its price was then three pounds a pound, and continued the ſame to 1707. In 1715, we began to uſe Green Tea, and the practice of drinking it deſcended to the lower claſs of the people. In 1720, the *French* began to ſend it hither by a clandeſtine commerce. From 1717 to 1726, we imported annually ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. From 1732 to 1742, a million and two hundred thouſand pounds were every year brought to *London*; in ſome years afterwards

Digitized by Google

afterwards three millions; and in 1755, near four millions of pounds, or two thouſand tons, in which we are not to reckon that which is ſurreptitiouſly introduced, which perhaps is nearly as much. Such quantities are indeed ſufficient to alarm us; it is at leaſt worth inquiry, to know what are the qualities of ſuch a plant, and what the conſequences of ſuch a trade.

He then proceeds to enumerate the miſchiefs of Tea, and ſeems willing to charge upon it every miſchief that he can find. He begins, however, by queſtioning the virtues aſcribed to it, and denies that the crews of the *Chineſe* ſhips are preſerved in their voyage homewards from the ſcurvy by Tea. About this report I have made ſome inquiry, and though I cannot find that theſe crews are wholly exempt from ſcorbutick maladies, they ſeem to ſuffer them leſs than other mariners in any courſe of equal length. This I aſcribe to the Tea, not as poſſeſſing any medicinal qualities, but as tempting them to drink more water, to dilute their ſalt food more copiouſly, and perhaps to forbear punch, or other ſtrong liquors.

He then proceeds in the pathetick ſtrain, to tell the ladies how, by drinking Tea, they injure their health, and, what is yet more dear, their beauty.

" To what can we aſcribe the numerous com-
" plaints which prevail? How many *ſweet crea-*
" *tures* of your ſex languiſh with a *weak digeſtion*,
" *low ſpirits*, *laſſitudes*, *melancholy*, and twenty diſ-
" orders, which in ſpite of the *faculty* have yet no
" names, except the general one of *nervous com-*
" *plaints?* Let them change their diet, and among
" other articles, leave off drinking Tea, it is more

" than

" than probable the greateſt part of them will be " reſtored to health."

" Hot water is alſo very hurtful to the teeth. The " *Chineſe* do not drink their Tea ſo hot as we do, and " yet they have bad teeth. This cannot be aſcribed " entirely to *ſugar*, for they uſe very little, as already " obſerved: but we all know that *hot* or *cold* things " which *pain* the teeth, deſtroy them alſo. If we " drank leſs Tea, and uſed gentle *acids* for the gums " and teeth, particularly *ſour oranges*, though we had " a leſs number of *French dentiſts*, I fancy this *eſſential* " part of beauty would be much *better* preſerved.

" The women in the *United Provinces*, who *ſip* " *Tea* from morning till night, are alſo as remarkable " for *bad teeth*. They alſo look pallid, and many " are troubled with certain feminine diſorders ariſing " from a relaxed habit. The *Portugueſe* ladies, on " the other hand, entertain with *ſweetmeats*, and yet " they have very *good teeth:* but their food in gene- " ral is more of a farinaceous and vegetable kind " than ours. They alſo *drink cold water* inſtead of " *ſipping hot*, and never taſte any fermented liquors; " for theſe reaſons the uſe of *ſugar* does not ſeem to " be at all pernicious to them."

" Men ſeem to have loſt their ſtature and come- " lineſs, and women their beauty. I am not *young*, " but methinks there is not quite ſo much *beauty* " in this land as there was. Your very *chamber-* " *maids* have loſt their bloom, I ſuppoſe by *ſipping* " *Tea*. Even the agitations of the paſſions at *cards* " are not ſo great enemies to female charms. What " *Shakeſpeare* aſcribes to the concealment of love, is

Digitized by Google

" *in this age* more frequently occaſioned by the uſe of " *Tea.*"

To raiſe the fright ſtill higher, he quotes an account of a pig's tail ſcalded with Tea, on which however he does not much inſiſt.

Of theſe dreadful effects, ſome are perhaps imaginary, and ſome may have another cauſe. That there is leſs beauty in the preſent race of females, than in thoſe who entered the world with us, all of us are inclined to think on whom beauty has ceaſed to ſmile; but our fathers and grandfathers made the ſame complaint before us; and our poſterity will ſtill find beauties irreſiſtibly powerful.

That the diſeaſes commonly called nervous, tremors, fits, habitual depreſſion, and all the maladies which proceed from laxity and debility, are more frequent than in any former time, is, I believe, true, however deplorable. But this new race of evils will not be expelled by the prohibition of Tea. This general langour is the effect of general luxury, of general idleneſs. If it be moſt to be found among Tea-drinkers, the reaſon is, that Tea is one of the ſtated amuſements of the idle and luxurious. The whole mode of life is changed; every kind of voluntary labour, every exerciſe that ſtrengthened the nerves, and hardened the muſcles, is fallen into diſuſe. The inhabitants are crowded together in populous cities, ſo that no occaſion of life requires much motion; every one is near to all that he wants; and the rich and delicate ſeldom paſs from one ſtreet to another, but in carriages of pleaſure. Yet we eat and drink, or ſtrive to eat and drink, like the hunters and huntreſſes, the

Digitized by Google

farmers and the houſewives of the former generation; and they that paſs ten hours in bed, and eight at cards, and the greater part of the other ſix at the table, are taught to impute to Tea all the diſeaſes which a life unnatural in all its parts may chance to bring upon them.

Tea, among the greater part of thoſe who uſe it moſt, is drunk in no great quantity. As it neither exhilarates the heart, nor ſtimulates the palate, it is commonly an entertainment merely nominal, a pretence for aſſembling to prattle, for interrupting buſineſs, or diverſifying idleneſs. They who drink one cup, and who drink twenty, are equally punctual in preparing or partaking it; and indeed there are few but diſcover by their indifference about it, that they are brought together not by the Tea, but the Tea-table. Three cups make the common quantity, ſo ſlightly impregnated, that perhaps they might be tinged with the *Athenian cicuta*, and produce leſs effects than theſe Letters charge upon Tea.

Our author proceeds to ſhew yet other bad qualities of this hated leaf.

" Green Tea, when made ſtrong even by infuſion, " is an *emetick*; nay, I am told it is uſed as ſuch in " *China*; a decoction of it certainly performs this " operation: yet by long uſe it is drank by many " without ſuch an effect. The infuſion alſo, when " it is made ſtrong, and ſtands long to draw the groſ- " ſer particles, will *convulſe* the bowels: even in the " manner *commonly* uſed, it has this effect on ſome " conſtitutions, as I have already remarked to you " from my *own experience*.

Digitized by Google

" You ſee I confeſs my *weakneſs* without reſerve; " but thoſe who are very fond of Tea, if their digeſ- " tion is weak, and they find themſelves diſor- " dered, they generally aſcribe it to any *cauſe* except " the *true* one. I am aware that the effect juſt " mentioned is imputed to the hot water; let it be " ſo, and my argument is ſtill good: but who pre- " tends to ſay it is not *partly* owing to particular " kinds of Tea? perhaps ſuch as partake of *copperas*, " which there is cauſe to apprehend is ſometimes " the caſe: if we judge from the manner in which it " is ſaid to be cured, together with its ordinary " effects, there is ſome foundation for this opinion. " Put a drop of ſtrong Tea, either *Green* or *Bohea*, " but chiefly the former, on the blade of a knife, " though it is not corroſive in the ſame manner as " vitriol, yet there appears to be a corroſive quality " in it, very different from that of fruit which ſtains " the knife."

He afterwards quotes *Paulli* to prove that Tea is a *deſiccative, and ought not to be uſed after the fortieth year.* I have then long exceeded the limits of permiſſion, but I comfort myſelf, that all the enemies of Tea cannot be in the right. If Tea be deſiccative, according to *Paulli*, it cannot weaken the fibres, as our author imagines; if it be *emetick*, it muſt conſtringe the ſtomach, rather than relax it.

The formidable quality of tinging the knife, it has in common with acorns, the bark, and leaves of oak, and every aſtringent bark or leaf: the copperas which is given to the Tea, is really in the knife. Ink may be made of any ferrugineous matter and aſtringent

Digitized by Google

vegetable, as it is generally made of galls and copperas.

From Tea the writer digreſſes to ſpirituous liquors, about which he will have no controverſy with the Literary Magazine; we ſhall therefore inſert almoſt his whole letter, and add to it one teſtimony, that the miſchiefs ariſing on every ſide from this compendious mode of drunkenneſs, are enormous and inſupportable; equally to be found among the great and the mean; filling palaces with diſquiet and diſtraction; harder to be borne as it cannot be mentioned; and overwhelming multitudes with incurable diſeaſes and unpitied poverty.

" Though *Tea* and *Gin* have ſpread their baneful " influence over this iſland and his Majeſty's other " dominions, yet you may be well aſſured, that the " Governors of the Foundling Hoſpital will exert " their utmoſt ſkill and vigilance, to prevent the " children under their care from being poiſoned, or " enervated by one or the other. This, however, " is not the caſe of *workhouſes:* it is well known, " to the ſhame of thoſe who are charged with the " care of them, that *gin* has been too often permitted " to enter their gates; and the debauched appetites " of the people who inhabit theſe houſes, has been " urged as a reaſon for it.

" *Deſperate* diſeaſes require *deſperate* remedies: if " laws are rigidly executed againſt murderers in the " highway, thoſe who provide a draught of gin, which " we ſee is *murderous*, ought not to be *countenanced*. " I am now informed that in certain hoſpitals, where

Digitized by Google

" the number of the *ſick* uſed to be about 5,600 in
" 14 years,

" From 1704 to 1718, they increaſed to 8,189;
" From 1718 to 1734, ſtill augmented to 12,710;
" And from 1734 to 1749, *multiplied* to 38,147.

" What a dreadful *ſpectre* does this exhibit! nor
" muſt we wonder, when ſatisfactory evidence was
" given before the great council of the nation, that
" near eight millions of gallons of diſtilled ſpirits, at
" the ſtandard it is commonly reduced to for drink-
" ing, was actually conſumed annually in drams! the
" ſhocking difference in the numbers of the *ſick*, and
" we may preſume of the *dead* alſo, was ſuppoſed to
" keep pace with *gin:* and the moſt ingenious and
" unprejudiced phyſicians aſcribed it to this cauſe.
" What is to be done under theſe melancholy cir-
" cumſtances? ſhall we ſtill countenance the *diſtillery*,
" for the ſake of the *revenue*; out of tenderneſs to the
" *few* who will ſuffer by its being aboliſhed; for fear
" of the madneſs of the people; or that foreigners will
" run it in upon us? There can be no *evil* ſo great
" as that we now ſuffer, except the making the ſame
" conſumption, and paying for it to foreigners in
" *money*, which I hope never will be the caſe.

" As to the *revenue*, it certainly may be replaced by
" taxes upon the *neceſſaries* of life, even upon the
" *bread we eat*, or in other words, upon the *land*,
" which is the great ſource of ſupply to the *publick*
" and to *individuals*. Nor can I perſuade myſelf,

" but

Digitized by Google

" but that the people may be *weaned* from the habit " of poiſoning themſelves. The difficulty of *ſmug-* " *gling* a bulky *liquid*, joined to the ſeverity which " *ought* to be exerciſed towards ſmugglers, whoſe " *illegal* commerce is of ſo *infernal* a nature, muſt in " time produce the effect deſired. Spirituous liquors " being aboliſhed, inſtead of having the moſt undiſ- " ciplined and abandoned poor, we might ſoon boaſt " a race of men, temperate, religious, and induſtrious " even to a *proverb*. We ſhould ſoon ſee the *pon-* " *derous* burden of the *poor*'s *rate* decreaſe, and the " *beauty* and *ſtrength* of the land rejuvenate. Schools, " workhouſes, and hoſpitals, might then be ſufficient " to clear our ſtreets of diſtreſs and miſery, which " never will be the caſe whilſt the love of poiſon pre- " vails, and the means of ruin is ſold in above one " thouſand houſes in the *city* of *London*, two thouſand " two hundred in *Weſtminſter*, and one thouſand nine " hundred and thirty in *Holborn* and *St. Giles*'s.

" But if other uſes ſtill demand *liquid fire*, I would " really propoſe, that it ſhould be ſold only in quart " bottles, ſealed up with the King's ſeal, with a very " high duty, and none ſold without being mixed with " a *ſtrong emetick*.

" Many become objects of charity by their *intem-* " *perance*, and this excludes others who are ſuch by " the unavoidable accidents of life, or who cannot " by any means ſupport themſelves. Hence it ap- " pears, that the introducing *new habits* of life is the " moſt ſubſtantial charity; and that the regulation of " charity-ſchools, hoſpitals, and workhouſes, not " the augmentation of their number, can make

Digitized by Google

" them anſwer the wiſe ends for which they were " inſtituted.

" The children of beggars ſhould be alſo taken " from them, and bred up to labour, as children of " the publick. Thus the *diſtreſſed* might be relieved, " at a ſixth part of the preſent expence; the idle " be compelled to *work* or *ſtarve*; and the *mad* be " ſent to *Bedlam*. We ſhould not ſee human nature " diſgraced by the aged, the maimed, the ſickly, and " young children begging their bread; nor would " compaſſion be abuſed by thoſe who have reduced " it to an *art* to catch the unwary. Nothing is want- " ing but common ſenſe and *honeſty* in the execution " of *laws*.

" To prevent ſuch abuſe in the *ſtreets*, ſeems more " practicable than to aboliſh *bad habits within doors*, " where *greater* numbers periſh. We ſee in many " familiar inſtances the fatal effects of example. " The careleſs ſpending of time among *ſervants*, " who are charged with the care of infants, is often " fatal: the nurſe frequently deſtroys the child! the " poor infant being left neglected, expires whilſt ſhe is " ſipping her Tea! This may appear to you as *rank* " *prejudice* or *jeſt*; but I am aſſured, from the moſt " *indubitable* evidence, that many very extraordinary " caſes of this kind have *really* happened among " thoſe whoſe *duty* does not permit of ſuch kind of " habits.

" It is partly from ſuch cauſes, that nurſes of the " children of the *publick* often *forget* themſelves, and " become *impatient* when infants cry: the next ſtep " to this, is uſing extraordinary means to quiet " them.

Digitized by Google

" them. I have already mentioned the term *killing* " *nurſe*, as known in ſome workhouſes: *Venice treacle*, " *poppy water*, and *Godfrey's cordial*, have been the " *kind* inſtruments of lulling the child to his *everlaſting* " reſt. If theſe *pious* women could ſend up an eja- " culation when the child expired, all was *well*, and " no queſtions *aſked* by the *ſuperiors*. An ingenious " friend of mine informs me, that this has been ſo " often the caſe, in ſome workhouſes, that *Venice* " treacle has acquired the appellation of *the Lord* " *have mercy upon me*, in alluſion to the nurſes *hack-* " *neyed* expreſſion of *pretended* grief when infants ex- " pire! *Farewel!*"

I know not upon what obſervation Mr. *Hanway* founds his confidence in the Governors of the *Foundling Hoſpital*, men of whom I have not any knowledge, but whom I intreat to conſider a little the minds as well as bodies of the children. I am inclined to believe Irreligion equally pernicious with Gin and Tea, and therefore think it not unſeaſonable to mention, that when a few months ago I wandered through the Hoſpital, I found not a child that ſeemed to have heard of his creed, or the commandments. To breed up children in this manner, is to reſcue them from an early grave, that they may find employment for the gibbet; from dying in innocence, that they may periſh by their crimes.

Having conſidered the effects of Tea upon the health of the drinker, which, I think, he has aggravated in the vehemence of his zeal, and which, after ſoliciting them by this watery luxury, year after year, I have not yet felt; he proceeds to examine how it may be ſhewn to affect our intereſt; and

Digitized by Google

and firſt calculates the national loſs by the time ſpent in drinking Tea. I have no deſire to appear captious, and ſhall therefore readily admit, that Tea is a liquor not proper for the lower claſſes of the people, as it ſupplies no ſtrength to labour, or relief to diſeaſe, but gratifies the taſte without nouriſhing the body. It is a barren ſuperfluity, to which thoſe who can hardly procure what nature requires, cannot prudently habituate themſelves. Its proper uſe is to amuſe the idle, and relax the ſtudious, and dilute the full meals of thoſe who cannot uſe exerciſe, and will not uſe abſtinence. That time is loſt in this inſipid entertainment, cannot be denied; many trifle away at the Tea-table thoſe moments which would be better ſpent; but that any national detriment can be inferred from this waſte of time, does not evidently appear, becauſe I know not that any work remains undone for want of hands. Our manufactures ſeem to be limited, not by the poſſibility of work, but by the poſſibility of ſale.

His next argument is more clear. He affirms, that one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds in ſilver are paid to the *Chineſe* annually, for three millions of pounds of Tea, and that for two millions more brought clandeſtinely from the neighbouring coaſts, we pay, at twenty-pence a pound, one hundred ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds. The author juſtly conceives, that this computation will waken us; for, ſays he, "The loſs of health, the "loſs of time, the injury of morals, are not very "ſenſibly felt by ſome, who are alarmed when you "talk of the loſs of money." But he excuſes the Eaſt-India Company, as men not obliged to be po-

litical

Digitized by Google

litical arithmeticians, or to inquire ſo much what the nation loſes, as how themſelves may grow rich. It is certain, that they who drink Tea have no right to complain of thoſe that import it; but if Mr. *Hanway*'s computation be juſt, the importation and the uſe of it ought at once to be ſtopped by a penal law.

The author allows one ſlight argument in favour of Tea, which, in my opinion, might be with far greater juſtice urged both againſt that and many other parts of our naval trade. "The Tea trade employs (he "tells us) ſix ſhips, and five or ſix hundred ſeamen, "ſent annually to *China*. It likewiſe brings in a re- "venue of three hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, "which, as a tax on luxury, may be conſidered as of "great utility to the ſtate." The utility of this tax I cannot find; a tax on luxury is no better than another tax, unleſs it hinders luxury, which cannot be ſaid of the impoſt upon Tea, while it is thus uſed by the great and the mean, the rich and the poor. The truth is, that by the loſs of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, we procure the means of ſhifting three hundred and ſixty thouſand at beſt, only from one hand to another; but perhaps ſometimes into hands by which it is not very honeſtly employed. Of the five or ſix hundred ſeamen ſent to *China*, I am told that ſometimes half, commonly a third part, periſh in the voyage; ſo that inſtead of ſetting this navigation againſt the inconveniences already alleged, we may add to them, the yearly loſs of two hundred men in the prime of life; and reckon, that the trade of *China* has deſtroyed ten thouſand men ſince the beginning of this century.

If

Digitized by Google

If Tea be thus pernicious, if it impoveriſhes our country, if it raiſes temptation, and gives opportunity to illicit commerce, which I have always looked on as one of the ſtrongeſt evidences of the inefficacy of our law, the weakneſs of our government, and the corruption of our people, let us at once reſolve to prohibit it for ever.

" If the *queſtion* was, how to promote induſtry " moſt *advantageouſly*, in lieu of our Tea-trade, ſup- " poſing every branch of our commerce to be already " fully ſupplied with men and money? If a *quarter* " the ſum now ſpent in Tea, were laid out annually " in plantations, in making publick gardens, in " paving and widening ſtreets, in making *roads*, in " rendering *rivers* navigable, erecting *palaces*, build- " ing *bridges*, or neat and convenient *houſes* where are " now only *huts*; *draining* lands, or rendering thoſe " which are now *barren* of ſome *uſe*; ſhould we not " be gainers, and provide more for health, pleaſure, " and long life, compared with the conſequences of " the Tea-trade?"

Our riches would be much better employed to theſe purpoſes; but if this project does not pleaſe, let us firſt reſolve to ſave our money, and we ſhall afterwards very eaſily find ways to ſpend it.

Digitized by Google

REVIEW

OF

"AN ESSAY

"ON THE

"WRITINGS and GENIUS of POPE."

THIS is a very curious and entertaining miſcellany of critical remarks and literary hiſtory. Though the book promiſes nothing but obſervations on the writings of *Pope*, yet no opportunity is neglected of introducing the character of any other writer, or the mention of any performance or event in which learning is intereſted. From *Pope*, however, he always takes his hint, and to *Pope* he returns again from his digreſſions. The facts which he mentions, though they are ſeldom anecdotes in a rigorous ſenſe, are often ſuch as are very little known, and ſuch as will delight more readers than naked criticiſm.

As he examines the works of this great poet in an order nearly chronological, he neceſſarily begins with his paſtorals, which conſidered as repreſentations of any kind of life, he very juſtly cenſures; for there is in them a mixture of *Grecian* and *Engliſh*, of ancient and modern, images. *Windſor* is coupled with *Hybla*, and *Thames* with *Pactolus*. He then compares ſome

Digitized by Google

ſome paſſages which *Pope* has imitated or tranſlated with the imitation or verſion, and gives the preference to the originals, perhaps not always upon convincing arguments.

Theocritus makes his lover wiſh to be a bee, that he might creep among the leaves that form the chaplet of his miſtreſs. *Pope*'s enamoured ſwain longs to be made the captive bird that ſings in his fair one's bower, that ſhe might liſten to his ſongs, and reward them with her kiſſes. The critick prefers the image of *Theocritus* as more wild, more delicate, and more uncommon.

It is natural for a lover to wiſh that he might be any thing that could come near to his lady. But we more naturally deſire to be that which ſhe fondles and careſſes, than that which ſhe would avoid, at leaſt would neglect. The ſuperior delicacy of *Theocritus* I cannot diſcover, nor can indeed find, that either in the one or the other image there is any want of delicacy. Which of the two images was leſs common in the time of the poet who uſed it, for on that conſideration the merit of novelty depends, I think it is now out of any critick's power to decide.

He remarks, I am afraid with too much juſtice, that there is not a ſingle new thought in the paſtorals; and with equal reaſon declares, that their chief beauty conſiſts in their correct and muſical verſification, which has ſo influenced the Engliſh ear, as to render every moderate rhymer harmonious.

In his examination of the Meſſiah, he juſtly obſerves ſome deviations from the inſpired author, which weaken the imagery, and diſpirit the expreſſion.

On

Digitized by Google

On *Windſor-foreſt*, he declares, I think without proof, that deſcriptive poetry was by no means the excellence of *Pope*; he draws this inference from the few images introduced in this poem, which would not equally belong to any other place. He muſt inquire whether *Windſor-foreſt* has in reality any thing peculiar.

The *Stag-chaſe* is not, he ſays, ſo full, ſo animated, and ſo circumſtantiated as *Somerville*'s. Barely to ſay, that one performance is not ſo good as another, is to criticiſe with little exactneſs. But *Pope* has directed that we ſhould in every work regard the author's end. The *Stag-chaſe* is the main ſubject of *Somerville*, and might therefore be properly dilated into all its circumſtances; in *Pope* it is only incidental, and was to be diſpatched in a few lines.

He makes a juſt obſervation, "that the deſcription of the external beauties of nature is uſually the firſt effect of a young genius, before he hath ſtudied nature and paſſions. Some of *Milton*'s moſt early as well as moſt exquiſite pieces are his *Lycidas*, *l'Allegro*, and *Il Penſeroſo*, if we may except his ode on the *Nativity of* CHRIST, which is indeed prior in order of time, and in which a penetrating critick might have obſerved the ſeeds of that boundleſs imagination which was one day to produce the *Paradiſe Loſt*."

Mentioning *Thomſon* and other deſcriptive poets, he remarks, that writers fail in their copies for want of acquaintance with originals, and juſtly ridicules thoſe who think they can form juſt ideas of valleys, mountains, and rivers, in a garret of the Strand. For this reaſon I cannot regret with this author, that *Pope* laid aſide his deſign of writing *American* paſtorals;

Digitized by Google

rals; for as he muſt have painted ſcenes which he never ſaw, and manners which he never knew, his performance, though it might have been a pleaſing amuſement of fancy, would have exhibited no repreſentation of nature or of life.

After the paſtorals, the critick conſiders the lyrick poetry of *Pope*, and dwells longeſt on the ode of *St. Cecilia*'s day, which he, like the reſt of mankind, places next to that of *Dryden*, and not much below it. He remarks after Mr. *Spence*, that the firſt ſtanza is a perfect concert. The ſecond he thinks a little flat; he juſtly commends the fourth, but without notice of the beſt line in that ſtanza or in the poem:

> Tranſported demigods ſtood round,
> And men grew heroes at the ſound.

In the latter part of the ode he objects to the ſtanza of triumph;

> Thus ſong could reveal, &c.

as written in a meaſure ridiculous and burleſque, and juſtifies his anſwer by obſerving that Addiſon uſes the ſame numbers in the ſcene of Roſamond, between Grideline and Sir Truſty:

> How unhappy is he, &c.

That the meaſure is the ſame in both paſſages muſt be confeſſed, and both poets perhaps choſe their numbers properly; for they both meant to expreſs a kind of airy hilarity. The two paſſions of merriment and exultation are undoubtedly different; they are as different as a gambol and a triumph, but each is a ſpecies of joy; and poetical meaſures have not in any language been ſo far refined as to provide for the ſubdiviſions of paſſion. They can only be adapted to general

Digitized by Google

general purpoſes; but the particular and minuter propriety muſt be ſought only in the ſentiment and language. Thus the numbers are the ſame in *Colin*'s complaint, and in the ballad of *Darby* and *Joan*, though in one ſadneſs is repreſented, and in the other tranquillity; ſo the meaſure is the ſame of *Pope*'s *Unfortunate Lady* and the *Praiſe of Voiture*.

He obſerves very juſtly, that the odes both of *Dryden* and *Pope* conclude unſuitably and unnaturally with epigram.

He then ſpends a page upon Mr. *Handel*'s muſic to *Dryden*'s ode, and ſpeaks of him with that regard which he has generally obtained among the lovers of ſound. He finds ſomething amiſs in the air "With raviſhed "ears," but has overlooked or forgotten the groſſeſt fault in that compoſition, which is that in this line:

Revenge, revenge, *Timothcus* cries.

He has laid much ſtreſs upon the two latter words, which are merely words of connection, and ought in muſic to be conſidered as parenthetical.

From this ode is ſtruck out a digreſſion on the nature of odes, and the comparative excellence of the ancients and moderns. He mentions the chorus which *Pope* wrote for the duke of *Buckingham*; and thence takes occaſion to treat of the chorus of the ancients. He then comes to another ode of "*The dying Chriſtian to* "*his Soul*," in which finding an apparent imitation of *Flatman*, he falls into a pleaſing and learned ſpeculation on the reſembling paſſages to be found in different poets.

He mentions with great regard *Pope*'s ode on *Solitude*, written when he was but twelve years old, but

Digitized by Google

omits to mention the poem on *Silence*, compoſed, I think, as early, with much greater elegance of diction, muſic of numbers, extent of obſervation, and force of thought. If he had happened to think on *Baillet*'s chapter of *Enfans celebres*, he might have made on this occaſion a very entertaining diſſertation on early excellence.

He comes next to the *Eſſay on Criticiſm*, the ſtupendous performance of a youth not yet twenty years old; and after having detailed the felicities of condition, to which he imagines *Pope* to have owed his wonderful prematurity of mind, he tells us that he is well informed this eſſay was firſt written in proſe. There is nothing improbable in the report, nothing indeed but what is more likely than the contrary; yet I cannot forbear to hint to this writer and all others, the danger and weakneſs of truſting too readily to information. Nothing but experience could evince the frequency of falſe information, or enable any man to conceive that ſo many groundleſs reports ſhould be propagated as every man of eminence may hear of himſelf. Some men relate what they think as what they know; ſome men of confuſed memories and habitual inaccuracy aſcribe to one man what belongs to another; and ſome talk on without thought or care. A few men are ſufficient to broach falſehoods, which are afterwards innocently diffuſed by ſucceſſive relaters.

He proceeds on examining paſſage after paſſage of this eſſay; but we muſt paſs over all theſe criticiſms to which we have not ſomething to add or to object, or whe[illegible] this [illegible]uthor does not differ from the general voice of mankind. We cannot agree with him in his cenſure of the compariſon of a ſtudent advancing in [illegible] ſcience

Digitized by Google

ſcience with a traveller paſſing the Alps, which is perhaps the beſt ſimile in our language; that in which the moſt exact reſemblance is traced between things in appearance utterly unrelated to each other. That the laſt line conveys no new *idea*, is not true; it makes particular what was before general. Whether the deſcription which he adds from another author be, as he ſays, more full and ſtriking than that of *Pope*, is not to be inquired. *Pope*'s deſcription is relative, and can admit no greater length than is uſually allowed to a ſimile, nor any other particulars than ſuch as form the correſpondence.

Unvaried rhymes, ſays this writer, highly diſguſt readers of a good ear. It is ſurely not the ear but the mind that is offended. The fault ariſing from the uſe of common rhymes is, that by reading the paſt line the ſecond may be gueſſed, and half the compoſition loſes the grace of novelty.

On occaſion of the mention of an alexandrine, the critic obſerves, that "the alexandrine may be thought a modern meaſure, but that Robert of Glouceſter's wife is an alexandrine, with the addition of two ſyllables; and that Sternhold and Hopkins tranſlated the pſalms in the ſame meaſure of fourteen ſyllables, though they are printed otherwiſe."

This ſeems not to be accurately conceived or expreſſed: an alexandrine with the addition of two ſyllables, is no more an alexandrine than with the detraction of two ſyllables. Sternhold and Hopkins did generally write in the alternate meaſure of eight and ſix ſyllables; but Hopkins commonly rhymed the firſt and third, Sternhold only the ſecond and fourth: ſo that Sternhold may be conſidered as writing couplets of

Digitized by Google

long lines; but Hopkins wrote regular ſtanzas. From the practice of printing the long lines of fourteen ſyllables in two ſhort lines, aroſe the licence of ſome of our poets, who, though profeſſing to write in ſtanzas, neglected the rhymes of the firſt and third lines.

Pope has mentioned *Petronius* among the great names of criticiſm, as the remarker juſtly obſerves without any critical merit. It is to be ſuſpected that *Pope* had never read his book, and mentioned him on the credit of two or three ſentences which he had often ſeen quoted, imagining that where there was ſo much there muſt neceſſarily be more. Young men in haſte to be renowned, too frequently talk of books which they have ſcarcely ſeen.

The revival of learning mentioned in this poem, affords an opportunity of mentioning the chief periods of literary hiſtory, of which this writer reckons five; that of *Alexander*, of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, of *Auguſtus*, of *Leo* the Tenth, of Queen *Anne*.

Theſe obſervations are concluded with a remark which deſerves great attention: "In no poliſhed nation, after criticiſm has been much ſtudied, and the rules of writing eſtabliſhed, has any very extraordinary book ever appeared."

The *Rape of the Lock* was always regarded by *Pope* as the higheſt production of his genius. On occaſion of this work, the hiſtory of the comic hero is given; and we are told that it deſcended from *Faſſoni* to *Boileau*, from *Boileau* to *Garth*, and from *Garth* to *Pope*. *Garth* is mentioned perhaps with too much honour; but all are confeſſed to be inferior to *Pope*. There is in his remarks on this work no diſcovery of any latent beauty, nor any thing ſubtle or ſtriking; he is indeed

Digitized by Google

indeed commonly right, but has diſcuſſed no difficult queſtion.

The next pieces to be conſidered are the *Verſes to the Memory of an unfortunate Lady*, the *Prologue to Cato*, and *Epilogue to Jane Shore*. The firſt piece he commends. On occaſion of the ſecond he digreſſes, according to his cuſtom, into a learned diſſertation on tragedies, and compares the *Engliſh* and *French* with the *Greek* ſtage. He juſtly cenſures *Cato* for want of action and of characters; but ſcarcely does juſtice to the ſublimity of ſome ſpeeches and the philoſophical exactneſs in the ſentiments. "The ſimile of mount *Atlas*, and that of the *Numidian* traveller ſmothered in the ſands, are indeed in character," ſays the critic, "but ſufficiently obvious." The ſimile of the mountain is indeed common; but of that of the traveller I do not remember. That it is obvious is eaſy to ſay, and eaſy to deny. Many things are obvious when they are taught.

He proceeds to criticiſe the other works of *Addiſon*, till the epilogue calls his attention to *Rowe*, whoſe character he diſcuſſes in the ſame manner with ſufficient freedom and ſufficient candour.

The tranſlation of the epiſtle of *Sappho* to *Phaon* is next conſidered: but *Sappho* and *Ovid* are more the ſubjects of this diſquiſition than *Pope*. We ſhall therefore paſs over it to a piece of more importance, the *Epiſtle of Eloiſa to Abelard*, which may juſtly be regarded as one of the works on which the reputation of *Pope* will ſtand in future times.

The critic purſues *Eloiſa* through all the changes of paſſion, produces the paſſages of her letters to which any alluſion is made, and interſperſes many agreeable

Digitized by Google

particulars and incidental relations. There is not much profundity of criticiſm, becauſe the beauties are ſentiments of nature, which the learned and the ignorant feel alike. It is juſtly remarked by him, that the wiſh of *Eloiſa* for the happy paſſage of *Abelard* into the other world, is formed according to the ideas of myſtic devotion.

Theſe are the pieces examined in this volume: whether the remaining part of the work will be one volume or more, perhaps the writer himſelf cannot yet inform us. This piece is, however, a complete work, ſo far as it goes; and the writer is of opinion that he has diſpatched the chief part of his taſk: for he ventures to remark, that the reputation of *Pope* as a poet, among poſterity, will be principally founded on his *Windſor-Foreſt*, *Rape of the Lock*, and *Eloiſa to Abelard*; while the facts and characters alluded to in his late writings will be forgotten and unknown, and their poignancy and propriety little reliſhed; for wit and ſatire are tranſitory and periſhable, but nature and paſſion are eternal.

He has interſperſed ſome paſſages of *Pope*'s life, with which moſt readers will be pleaſed. When *Pope* was yet a child, his father, who had been a merchant in *London*, retired to *Binfield*. He was taught to read by an aunt; and learned to write without a maſter, by copying printed books. His father uſed to order him to make *Engliſh* verſes, and would oblige him to correct and retouch them over and over, and at laſt could ſay, "Theſe are good rhymes."

At eight years of age, he was committed to one *Taverner* a prieſt, who taught him the rudiments of the *Latin* and *Greek*. At this time he met with *Ogleby*'s *Homer*,

Digitized by Google

Homer, which ſeized his attention; he fell next upon *Sandy*'s *Ovid*, and remembered theſe two tranſlations with pleaſure to the end of his life.

About ten, being at ſchool near *Hyde-Park-Corner*, he was taken to the play-houſe, and was ſo ſtruck with the ſplendour of the drama, that he formed a kind of play out of *Ogleby*'s *Homer*, intermixed with verſes of his own. He perſuaded the head-boys to act this piece, and *Ajax* was performed by his maſter's gardener. They were habited according to the pictures in *Ogleby*. At twelve he retired with his father to *Windſor-Foreſt*, and formed himſelf by ſtudy in the beſt *Engliſh* poets.

In this extract it was thought convenient to dwell chiefly upon ſuch obſervations as relate immediately to *Pope*, without deviating with the author into incidental inquiries. We intend to kindle, not to extinguiſh, curioſity, by this ſlight ſketch of a work abounding with curious quotations and pleaſing diſquiſitions. He muſt be much acquainted with literary hiſtory, both of remote and late times, who does not find in this eſſay many things which he did not know before: and if there be any too learned to be inſtructed in facts or opinions, he may yet properly read this book as a juſt ſpecimen of literary moderation.

Digitized by Google

REPLY

TO A

PAPER in the GAZETTEER

of *May* 26, 1757*.

IT is obſerved in the ſage *Gil Blas*, that an exaſperated author is not eaſily pacified. I have, therefore, very little hope of making my peace with the writer of the Eight Days Journey: indeed ſo little, that I have long deliberated whether I ſhould not rather ſit ſilently down under his diſpleaſure, than aggravate my misfortune by a defence of which my heart forebodes the ill ſucceſs. Deliberation is often uſeleſs. I am afraid that I have at laſt made the wrong choice; and that I might better have reſigned my cauſe, without a ſtruggle, to time and fortune, ſince I ſhall run the hazard of a new offence, by the neceſſity of aſking him *why he is angry*.

Diſtreſs and terror often diſcover to us thoſe faults with which we ſhould never have reproached ourſelves in a happy ſtate. Yet, dejected as I am, when I review the tranſaction between me and this writer, I cannot find that I have been deficient in reverence. When his book was firſt printed, he hints that I procured a ſight of it before it was publiſhed. How the ſight of it was procured I

* From the Literary Magazine, Vol. II. Page 253.

do

Digitized by Google

do not now very exactly remember; but if my curioſity was greater than my prudence, if I laid raſh hands on the fatal volume, I have ſurely ſuffered like him who burſt the box from which evil ruſhed into the world.

I took it, however, and inſpected it as the work of an author not higher than myſelf; and was confirmed in my opinion, when I found that theſe letters were *not written to be printed.* I concluded, however, that though not *written* to be *printed*, they were *printed* to be *read*, and inſerted one of them in the collection of *November* laſt. Not many days after I received a note, informing me, that I ought to have waited for a more correct edition. This injunction was obeyed. The edition appeared, and I ſuppoſed myſelf at liberty to tell my thoughts upon it, as upon any other book, upon a royal manifeſto, or an act of parliament. But ſee the fate of ignorant temerity! I now find, but find too late, that inſtead of a writer whoſe only power is in his pen; I have irritated an important member of an important corporation; a man who, as he tells us in his letters, puts horſes to his chariot.

It was allowed to the diſputant of old to yield up the controverſy with little reſiſtance to the maſter of forty legions. Thoſe who know how weakly naked truth can defend her advocates, would forgive me if I ſhould pay the ſame reſpect to a Governor of the Foundlings. Yet the conſciouſneſs of my own rectitude of intention incites me to aſk once again, how I have offended.

There are only three ſubjects upon which my unlucky pen has happened to venture. Tea; the author

Digitized by Google

author of the Journal; and the Foundling Hoſpital.

Of Tea what have I ſaid? That I have drank it twenty years without hurt, and therefore believe it not to be poiſon: that if it dries the fibres, it cannot ſoften them; that if it conſtringes, it cannot relax. I have modeſtly doubted whether it has diminiſhed the ſtrength of our men, or the beauty of our women; and whether it much hinders the progreſs of our woollen or iron manufactures; but I allowed it to be a barren ſuperfluity, neither medicinal nor nutritious, that neither ſupplied ſtrength nor cheerfulneſs, neither relieved wearineſs, nor exhilarated ſorrow: I inſerted, without charge or ſuſpicion of falſehood, the ſums exported to purchaſe it; and propoſed a law to prohibit it for ever.

Of the author I unfortunately ſaid, that his injunction was ſomewhat too magiſterial. This I ſaid before I knew that he was a Governor of the Foundlings; but he ſeems inclined to puniſh this failure of reſpect, as the czar of *Muſcovy* made war upon *Sweden*, becauſe he was not treated with ſufficient honours when he paſſed through the country in diſguiſe. Yet was not this irreverence without extenuation. Something was ſaid of the merit of *meaning well*, and the Journaliſt was declared to be a man *whoſe failings might well be pardoned for his virtues*. This is the higheſt praiſe which human gratitude can confer upon human merit; praiſe that would have more than ſatisfied *Titus* or *Auguſtus*, but which I muſt own to be inadequate and penurious, when offered to the member of an important corporation.

I am aſked whether I meant to ſatirize the man

Digitized by Google

or criticiſe the writer, when I ſay that *he believes, only perhaps becauſe he has inclination to believe it, that the* Engliſh *and* Dutch *conſume more Tea than the vaſt empire of* China? Between the writer and the man I did not at that time conſider the diſtinction. The writer I found not of more than mortal might, and I did not immediately recollect that the man put horſes to his chariot. But I did not write wholly without conſideration. I knew but two cauſes of belief, evidence and inclination. What evidence the Journaliſt could have of the *Chineſe* conſumption of Tea, I was not able to diſcover. The officers of the *Eaſt-India* Company are excluded, they beſt know why, from the towns and the country of *China*; they are treated as we treat gypſies and vagrants, and obliged to retire every night to their own hovel. What intelligence ſuch travellers may bring is of no great importance. And though the miſſionaries boaſt of having once penetrated further, I think they have never calculated the Tea drank by the *Chineſe*. There being thus no evidence for his opinion, to what could I aſcribe it but to inclination?

I am yet charged more heavily for having ſaid, that *he has no intention to find any thing right at home.* I believe every reader reſtrained this imputation to the ſubject which produced it, and ſuppoſed me to inſinuate only that he meant to ſpare no part of the Tea-table, whether eſſence or circumſtance. But this line he has ſelected as an inſtance of virulence and acrimony, and confutes it by a lofty and ſplendid panegyrick on himſelf. He aſſerts, that he finds many things right at home, and that he loves his country almoſt to enthuſiaſm.

I had

Digitized by Google

I had not the leaſt doubt that he found in his country many things to pleaſe him; nor did I ſuppoſe that he deſired the ſame inverſion of every part of life, as of the uſe of Tea. The propoſal of drinking Tea four ſhewed indeed ſuch a diſpoſition to practical paradoxes, that there was reaſon to fear leſt ſome ſucceeding letter ſhould recommend the dreſs of the *Picts*, or the cookery of the *Eſkimaux*. However, I met with no other innovations, and therefore was willing to hope that he found ſomething right at home.

But his love of his country ſeemed not to riſe quite to enthuſiaſm, when, amidſt his rage againſt Tea, he made a ſmooth apology for the *Eaſt India* Company, as men who might not think themſelves obliged to be political arithmeticians. I hold, though no enthuſiaſtick patriot, that every man who lives and trades under the protection of a community, is obliged to conſider whether he hurts or benefits thoſe who protect him; and that the moſt which can be indulged to private intereſt is a neutral traffick, if any ſuch can be, by which our country is not injured, though it may not be benefited.

But he now renews his declamation againſt Tea, notwithſtanding the greatneſs or power of thoſe that have intereſt or inclination to ſupport it. I know not of what power or greatneſs he may dream. The importers only have an intereſt in defending it. I am ſure they are not great, and I hope they are not powerful. Thoſe whoſe inclination leads them to continue this practice, are too numerous, but I believe their power is ſuch, as the Journaliſt may defy without enthuſiaſm. The love of our country, when it riſes

Digitized by Google

riſes to enthuſiaſm, is an ambiguous and uncertain virtue: when a man is enthuſiaſtick, he ceaſes to be reaſonable, and when he once departs from reaſon, what will he do but drink four Tea? As the Journaliſt, though enthuſiaſtically zealous for his country, has, with regard to ſmaller things, the placid happineſs of philoſophical indifference, I can give him no diſturbance by adviſing him to reſtrain even the love of his country within due limits, leſt it ſhould ſometimes ſwell too high, fill the whole capacity of his ſoul, and leave leſs room for the love of truth.

Nothing now remains but that I review my poſitions concerning the Foundling-Hoſpital. What I declared laſt month, I declare now once more, that I found none of the children that appeared to have heard of the catechiſm. It is inquired how I wandered, and how I examined? There is doubtleſs ſubtilty in the queſtion; I know not well how to anſwer it. Happily I did not wander alone; I attended ſome ladies with another gentleman, who all heard and aſſiſted the inquiry with equal grief and indignation. I did not conceal my obſervations. Notice was given of this ſhameful defect ſoon after, at my requeſt, to one of the higheſt names of the ſociety. This I am now told is incredible; but ſince it is true, and the paſt is out of human power, the moſt important corporation cannot make it falſe. But why is it incredible? Becauſe in the rules of the hoſpital the children are ordered to learn the rudiments of religion. Orders are eaſily made, but they do not execute themſelves. They ſay their

Digitized by Google

their catechiſm, at ſtated times, under an able maſter. But this able maſter was, I think, not elected before laſt *February*; and my viſit happened, if I miſtake not, in *November*. The children were ſhy when interrogated by a ſtranger. This may be true, but the ſame ſhyneſs I do not remember to have hindered them from anſwering other queſtions: and I wonder why children ſo much accuſtomed to new ſpectators ſhould be eminently ſhy.

My opponent, in the firſt paragraph, calls the inference that I made from this negligence, a haſty concluſion: to the decency of this expreſſion I had nothing to object: but as he grew hot in his career, his enthuſiaſm began to ſparkle; and in the vehemence of his poſtſcript, he charges my aſſertions, and my reaſons for advancing them, with folly and malice. His argumentation being ſomewhat enthuſiaſtical, I cannot fully comprehend, but it ſeems to ſtand thus: my inſinuations are fooliſh or malicious, ſince I know not one of the Governors of the Hoſpital; for he that knows not the Governors of the Hoſpital, muſt be very fooliſh or malicious.

He has, however, ſo much kindneſs for me, that he adviſes me to conſult my ſafety when I talk of corporations. I know not what the moſt important corporation can do, becoming manhood, by which my ſafety is endangered. My reputation is ſafe, for I can prove the fact; my quiet is ſafe, for I meant well; and for any other ſafety, I am not uſed to be very ſolicitous.

I am always ſorry when I ſee any being labouring in vain;

Digitized by Google

vain; and in return for the Journaliſt's attention to my ſafety, I will confeſs ſome compaſſion for his tumultuous reſentment; ſince all his invectives fume into the air, with ſo little effect upon me, that I ſtill eſteem him as one that has the *merit of meaning well*; and ſtill believe him to be *a man whoſe failings may be juſtly pardoned for his virtues.*

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

PROCEEDINGS of the COMMITTEE

APPOINTED TO MANAGE THE

Contributions begun at *London*, *Dec.* 18, 1758, for cloathing *French* Priſoners of War.

THE Committee entruſted with the money contributed to the relief of the ſubjects of *France*, now priſoners in the *Britiſh* dominions, here lay before the publick an exact account of all the ſums received and expended, that the donors may judge how properly their benefactions have been applied.

Charity would loſe its name, were it influenced by ſo mean a motive as human praiſe: it is therefore not intended to celebrate by any particular memorial, the liberality of ſingle perſons, or diſtinct ſocieties; it is ſufficient that their works praiſe them.

Yet he who is far from ſeeking honour, may very juſtly obviate cenſure. If a good example has been ſet, it may loſe its influence by miſrepreſentation; and to free charity from reproach, is itſelf a charitable action.

Againſt the relief of the *French* only one argument has been brought; but that one is ſo popular and ſpecious, that if it were to remain unexamined, it

Digitized by Google

it would by many be thought irrefragable. It has been urged, that charity, like other virtues, may be improperly and unſeaſonably exerted; that while we are relieving *Frenchmen*, there remain many *Engliſhmen* unrelieved; that while we laviſh pity on our enemies, we forget the miſery of our friends.

Grant this argument all it can prove, and what is the concluſion?—That to relieve the *French* is a good action, but that a better may be conceived. This is all the reſult, and this all is very little. To do the beſt can ſeldom be the lot of man: it is ſufficient if, when opportunities are preſented, he is ready to do good. How little virtue could be practiſed, if beneficence were to wait always for the moſt proper objects, and the nobleſt occaſions; occaſions that may never happen, and objects that may never be found.

It is far from certain, that a ſingle *Engliſhman* will ſuffer by the charity to the *French*. New ſcenes of miſery make new impreſſions; and much of the charity which produced theſe donations, may be ſuppoſed to have been generated by a ſpecies of calamity never known among us before. Some imagine that the laws have provided all neceſſary relief in common caſes, and remit the poor to the care of the publick; ſome have been deceived by fictitious miſery, and are afraid of encouraging impoſture; many have obſerved want to be the effect of vice, and conſider caſual almſgivers as patrons of idleneſs. But all theſe difficulties vaniſh in the preſent caſe: we know that for the Priſoners of War there is no legal proviſion; we ſee their diſtreſs, and are certain of its cauſe; we

Digitized by Google

know that they are poor and naked, and poor and naked without a crime.

But it is not neceſſary to make any conceſſions. The opponents of this charity muſt allow it to be good, and will not eaſily prove it not to be the beſt. That charity is beſt, of which the conſequences are moſt extenſive: the relief of enemies has a tendency to unite mankind in fraternal affection; to ſoften the acrimony of adverſe nations, and diſpoſe them to peace and amity: in the mean time, it alleviates captivity, and takes away ſomething from the miſeries of war. The rage of war, however mitigated, will always fill the world with calamity and horror: let it not then be unneceſſarily extended; let animoſity and hoſtility ceaſe together; and no man be longer deemed an enemy, than while his ſword is drawn againſt us.

The effects of theſe contributions may, perhaps, reach ſtill further. Truth is beſt ſupported by virtue: we may hope from thoſe who feel or who ſee our charity, that they ſhall no longer deteſt as hereſy that religion, which makes its profeſſors the followers of Him, who has commanded us to "do good to them "that hate us."

Digitized by Google

ON THE

BRAVERY

OF THE

ENGLISH COMMON SOLDIERS.

BY thoſe who have compared the military genius of the *Engliſh* with that of the *French* nation, it is remarked, that *the French officers will always lead, if the ſoldiers will follow*; and that *the Engliſh ſoldiers will always follow, if their officers will lead.*

In all pointed ſentences, ſome degree of accuracy muſt be ſacrificed to conciſeneſs; and, in this compariſon, our officers ſeem to loſe what our ſoldiers gain. I know not any reaſon for ſuppoſing that the *Engliſh* officers are leſs willing than the *French* to lead; but it is, I think, univerſally allowed, that the *Engliſh* ſoldiers are more willing to follow. Our nation may boaſt, beyond any other people in the world, of a kind of epidemick bravery, diffuſed equally through all its ranks. We can ſhew a peaſantry of heroes, and fill our armies with clowns, whoſe courage may vie with that of their general.

There may be ſome pleaſure in tracing the cauſes of this plebeian magnanimity. The qualities which commonly make an army formidable, are long habits of regularity, great exactneſs of diſcipline, and great

Digitized by Google

confidence in the commander. Regularity may, in time, produce a kind of mechanical obedience to ſignals and commands, like that which the perverſe *Carteſians* impute to animals; diſcipline may impreſs ſuch an awe upon the mind, that any danger ſhall be leſs dreaded than the danger of puniſhment; and confidence in the wiſdom or fortune of the general, may induce the ſoldiers to follow him blindly to the moſt dangerous enterprize.

What may be done by diſcipline and regularity, may be ſeen in the troops of the *Ruſſian* empreſs and *Pruſſian* monarch. We find that they may be broken without confuſion, and repulſed without flight.

But the *Engliſh* troops have none of theſe requiſites in any eminent degree. Regularity is by no means part of their character: they are rarely exerciſed, and therefore ſhew very little dexterity in their evolutions as bodies of men, or in the manual uſe of their weapons as individuals; they neither are thought by others, nor by themſelves, more active or exact than their enemies, and therefore derive none of their courage from ſuch imaginary ſuperiority.

The manner in which they are diſperſed in quarters over the country during times of peace, naturally produces laxity of diſcipline; they are very little in ſight of their officers; and, when they are not engaged in the ſlight duty of the guard, are ſuffered to live every man his own way.

The equality of *Engliſh* privileges, the impartiality of our laws, the freedom of our tenures, and the proſperity of our trade, diſpoſe us very little to reverence

Digitized by Google

reverence of ſuperiors. It is not to any great eſteem of the officers that the *Engliſh* ſoldier is indebted for his ſpirit in the hour of battle; for perhaps it does not often happen that he thinks much better of his leader than of himſelf. The *French* count, who has lately publiſhed the *Art of War*, remarks how much ſoldiers are animated, when they ſee all their dangers ſhared by thoſe who were born to be their maſters, and whom they conſider as beings of a different rank. The *Engliſhman* deſpiſes ſuch motives of courage: he was born without a maſter; and looks not on any man, however dignified by lace or titles, as deriving from nature any claims to his reſpect, or inheriting any qualities ſuperior to his own.

There are ſome, perhaps, who would imagine that every *Engliſhman* fights better than the ſubjects of abſolute governments, becauſe he has more to defend. But what has the *Engliſh* more than the *French* ſoldier? Property they are both commonly without. Liberty is, to the loweſt rank of every nation, little more than the choice of working or ſtarving; and this choice is, I ſuppoſe, equally allowed in every country. The *Engliſh* ſoldier ſeldom has his head very full of the conſtitution; nor has there been, for more than a century, any war that put the property or liberty of a ſingle *Engliſhman* in danger.

Whence then is the courage of the *Engliſh* vulgar? It proceeds, in my opinion, from that diſſolution of dependance which obliges every man to regard his own character. While every man is fed by his own hands, he has no need of any ſervile arts; he may always have wages for his labour; and is no leſs neceſſary to his employer, than his employer is

Digitized by Google

to him. While he looks for no protection from others, he is naturally roused to be his own protector; and having nothing to abate his esteem of himself, he consequently aspires to the esteem of others. Thus every man that crouds our streets is a man of honour, disdainful of obligation, impatient of reproach, and desirous of extending his reputation among those of his own rank; and as courage is in most frequent use, the fame of courage is most eagerly pursued. From this neglect of subordination I do not deny that some inconveniencies may from time to time proceed: the power of the law does not always sufficiently supply the want of reverence, or maintain the proper distinction between different ranks: but good and evil will grow up in this world together; and they who complain, in peace, of the insolence of the populace, must remember, that their insolence in peace is bravery in war.

Digitized by Google

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

PLANS offered for the Conſtruction of BLACK-FRIARS BRIDGE.

In THREE LETTERS, to the PRINTER of the GAZETTEER.

LETTER I.

SIR, Dec. 1, 1759.

THE Plans which have been offered by different architects, of different reputation and abilities, for the Conſtruction of the Bridge intended to be built at *Black-Friars*, are, by the rejection of the greater part, now reduced to a ſmall number; in which ſmall number three are ſuppoſed to be much ſuperior to the reſt; ſo that only three architects are now properly competitors for the honour of this great employment; *by two of whom are propoſed ſemicircular* and by the other *elliptical arches*.

The queſtion is, therefore, whether an elliptical or ſemicircular arch is to be preferred?

The firſt excellence of a bridge built for commerce over a large river, is ſtrength; for a bridge which cannot ſtand, however beautiful, will boaſt its beauty but a little while; the ſtronger arch is therefore to be preferred, and much more to be

Digitized by Google

preferred, if with greater ſtrength it has greater beauty.

Thoſe who are acquainted with the mathematical principles of architecture, are not many; and yet fewer are they who will, upon any ſingle occaſion, endure any laborious ſtretch of thought, or haraſs their minds with unaccuſtomed inveſtigations. We ſhall therefore attempt to ſhew the *weakneſs of the elliptical arch*, by arguments which appeal ſimply to common reaſon, and which will yet ſtand the teſt of geometrical examination.

All arches have a certain degree of weakneſs. No hollow building can be equally ſtrong with a ſolid maſs, of which every upper part preſſes perpendicularly upon the lower. Any weight laid upon the top of an arch, has a tendency to force that top into the vacuity below; and the arch thus loaded on the top, ſtands only becauſe the ſtones that form it, being wider in the upper than in the lower parts, that part that fills a wider ſpace cannot fall through a ſpace leſs wide; but the force which laid upon a flat would preſs directly downwards, is diſperſed each way in a lateral direction, as the parts of a beam are puſhed out to the right and left by a wedge driven between them. In proportion as the ſtones are wider at the top than at the bottom, they can leſs eaſily be forced downwards, and as their lateral ſurfaces tend more from the centre to each ſide, to ſo much more is the preſſure directed laterally towards the piers, and ſo much leſs perpendicularly towards the vacuity.

Upon this plain principle the ſemicircular arch may be demonſtrated to excel in ſtrength the ellip-

Digitized by Google

tical arch, which approaching nearer to a ſtrait line, muſt be conſtructed with ſtones whoſe diminution downwards is very little, and of which the preſſure is almoſt perpendicular.

It has yet been ſometimes aſſerted by hardy ignorance, that the elliptical arch is ſtronger than the ſemicircular; or in other terms, that any maſs is more ſtrongly ſupported the leſs it reſts upon the ſupporters. If the elliptical arch be equally ſtrong with the ſemicircular, that is, if an arch, by approaching to a ſtrait line, loſes none of its ſtability, it will follow, that all arcuation is uſeleſs, and that the bridge may at laſt, without any inconvenience, conſiſt of ſtone laid in ſtrait lines from pillar to pillar. But if a ſtrait line will bear no weight, which is evident at the firſt view, it is plain likewiſe, that an ellipſis will bear very little; and that as the arch is more curved, its ſtrength is increaſed.

Having thus evinced the ſuperior ſtrength of the ſemicircular arch, we have ſufficiently proved, that it ought to be preferred; but to leave no objection unprevented, we think it proper likewiſe to obſerve, that the elliptical arch muſt always appear to want elevation and dignity; and that if beauty be to be determined by ſuffrages, the elliptical arch will have little to boaſt, ſince the only bridge of that kind has now ſtood *two hundred years without imitation.*

If in oppoſition to theſe arguments, and in defiance at once of right reaſon and general authority, the elliptical arch ſhould at laſt be choſen, what will the world believe, than that ſome other motive than reaſon influenced the determination? And ſome degree of partiality cannot but be ſuſpected by him, who has been

Digitized by Google

been told that one of the judges appointed to decide this queſtion, is Mr. *M—ll—r*, who having by ignorance or thoughtleſſneſs, already preferred the elliptical arch, will probably think himſelf obliged to maintain his own judgment, though his opinion will avail but little with the publick, when it is known that Mr. *S—pſ—n* declares it to be falſe.

He that in the liſt of the committee choſen for the ſuperintendency of the bridge, reads many of the moſt illuſtrious names of this great city, will hope that the greater number will have more reverence for the opinion of poſterity, than to diſgrace themſelves, and the metropolis of the kingdom, in compliance with any man, who, inſtead of voting, aſpires to dictate, perhaps without any claim to ſuch ſuperiority, either by greatneſs of birth, dignity of employment, extent of knowledge, or largeneſs of fortune.

LETTER II.

SIR, Dec. 8, 1759.

IN queſtions of general concern, there is no law of government, or rule of decency, that forbids open examination and publick diſcuſſion. I ſhall therefore not betray, by a mean apology, that right which no man has power, and, I ſuppoſe, no wiſe man has deſire to refuſe me; but ſhall conſider the Letter publiſhed by you laſt *Friday*, in defence of Mr. *M—*'s deſign for a new bridge.

Mr. *M——* propoſes elliptical arches. It has been objected that elliptical arches are weak, and therefore improper for a bridge of commerce, in a country where greater weights are ordinarily carried by

Digitized by Google

by land than perhaps in any other part of the world. That there is an elliptical bridge at *Florence* is allowed, but the objectors maintain, that its ſtability is ſo much doubted, *that carts* are not permitted to paſs over it.

To this no anſwer is made, but that it was built for coaches; and if it had been built for carts, it would have been made ſtronger: thus all the controvertiſts agree, that the bridge is too weak for carts; and it is of little importance, whether carts are prohibited becauſe the bridge is weak, or whether the architect, knowing that carts were prohibited, voluntarily conſtructed a weak bridge. The inſtability of the elliptical arch has been ſufficiently proved by argument, and *Ammanuti*'s attempt has proved it by example.

The iron rail, whether gilt or varniſhed, appears to me unworthy of debate. I ſuppoſe every judicious eye will diſcern it to be minute and trifling, equally unfit to make a part of a great deſign, whatever be its colour. I ſhall only obſerve how little the writer underſtands his own poſitions, when he recommends it to be caſt in whole pieces from pier to pier. That iron forged is ſtronger than iron caſt, every ſmith can inform him; and if it be caſt in large pieces, the fracture of a ſingle bar muſt be repaired by a new piece.

The abrupt riſe, which is feared from firm circular arches, may be eaſily prevented, by a little extenſion of the abutment at each end, which will take away the objection, and add almoſt nothing to the expence.

The whole of the argument in favour of Mr. *M*——, is only that there is an elliptical bridge at *Florence*, and an iron baluſtrade at *Rome*; the bridge is owned to be weak, and the iron baluſtrade we conſider as mean; and

Digitized by Google

and are loth that our own country ſhould unite two follies in a publick work.

The architrave of *Perault*, which has been pompouſly produced, bears nothing but its entablature; and is ſo far from owing its ſupport to the artful ſection of the ſtone, that it is held together by cramps of iron; to which I am afraid Mr. *M*—— muſt have recourſe, if he perſiſts in his ellipſis, or, to uſe the words of his vindicator, forms his arch of four ſegments of circles drawn from four different centres.

That Mr. *M*—— obtained the prize of the architecture at *Rome*, a few months ago, is willingly confeſſed; nor do his opponents doubt that he obtained it by deſerving it. May he continue to obtain whatever he deſerves; but let it not be preſumed that a prize granted at *Rome*, implies an irreſiſtible degree of ſkill. The competition is only between boys, and the prize given to excite laudable induſtry, not to reward conſummate excellence. Nor will the ſuffrage of the *Romans* much advance any name among thoſe who know, what no man of ſcience will deny, that architecture has for ſome time degenerated at *Rome* to the loweſt ſtate, and that the Pantheon is now deformed by petty decorations.

I am, SIR,

Yours, &c.

Digitized by Google

LETTER III.

SIR, Dec. 15, 1759.

IT is the common fate of erroneous poſitions, that they are betrayed by defence, and obſcured by explanation; that their authors deviate from the main queſtion into incidental diſquiſitions, and raiſe a miſt where they ſhould let in light.

Of all theſe concomitants of errors, the Letter of *Dec.* 10, in favour of elliptical arches, has afforded examples. A great part of it is ſpent upon digreſſions. The writer allows, that *the firſt excellence of a bridge is undoubtedly ſtrength*; but this conceſſion affords him an opportunity of telling us, that ſtrength, or proviſion againſt decay, has its limits; and of mentioning the Monument and Cupola, without any advance towards evidence or argument.

The *firſt excellence of a bridge* is now allowed to be *ſtrength*; and it has been aſſerted, that a ſemi-ellipſis has leſs ſtrength than a ſemicircle. To this he firſt anſwers, that *granting* this poſition *for a moment*, the ſemi-ellipſis may yet have ſtrength ſufficient for the purpoſes of commerce. This grant, which was made but for a moment, needed not to have been made at all; for before he concludes his Letter, he undertakes to prove, that the *elliptical arch muſt in all reſpects be ſuperior in ſtrength to the ſemicircle.* For this daring aſſertion he made way by the intermediate paragraphs; in which he obſerves, that *the convexity of a ſemi-ellipſis may be increaſed at will to any degree that ſtrength may require*; which is, that an elliptical arch may be made leſs elliptical, to be made leſs weak; or that an arch, which

Digitized by Google

which by its elliptical form is ſuperior in ſtrength to the ſemicircle, may become almoſt as ſtrong as a ſemicircle, by being made almoſt ſemicircular.

That the longer diameter of an ellipſis may be ſhortened, till it ſhall differ little from a circle, is indiſputably true; but why ſhould the writer forget the ſemicircle differs as little from ſuch an ellipſis? It ſeems that the difference, whether ſmall or great, is to the advantage of the ſemicircle; for he does not promiſe that the elliptical arch, with all the convexity that his imagination can confer, will ſtand without *cramps of iron*, and *melted lead*, and *large ſtones*, and *a very thick arch*; aſſiſtances which the ſemicircle does not require, and which can be yet leſs required by a ſemi-ellipſis, which is *in all reſpects ſuperior in ſtrength*.

Of a man who loves oppoſition ſo well, as to be thus at variance with himſelf, little doubt can be made of his contrariety to others; nor do I think myſelf entitled to complain of diſregard from one, with whom the performances of antiquity have ſo *little weight*; yet in defiance of all this contemptuous ſuperiority, I muſt again venture to declare, that *a ſtrait line will bear no weight*; being convinced, that not even the ſcience of *Vaſari* can make that form ſtrong which the laws of nature have condemned to weakneſs. By the poſition, that *a ſtrait line will bear nothing*, is meant, that *it receives no ſtrength from ſtraitneſs*; for that many bodies, laid in ſtrait lines, will ſupport weight by the coheſion of their parts, every one has found, who has ſeen diſhes on a ſhelf, or a thief upon the gallows. It is not denied, that ſtones may be ſo cruſhed together by enormous preſſure on each ſide, that a heavy maſs may

Digitized by Google

may ſafely be laid upon them; but the ſtrength muſt be derived merely from the lateral reſiſtance; and the line ſo loaded will be itſelf part of the load.

The ſemi-elliptical arch has one recommendation yet unexamined; we are told that it is difficult of execution. Why difficulty ſhould be choſen for its own ſake, I am not able to diſcover; but it muſt not be forgotten, that as the convexity is increaſed, the difficulty is leſſened; and I know not well whether this writer, who appears equally ambitious of difficulty and ſtudious of ſtrength, will wiſh to increaſe the convexity for the gain of ſtrength, or to leſſen it for the love of difficulty.

The friend of Mr. *M*——, however he may be miſtaken in ſome of his opinions, does not want the appearance of reaſon, when he prefers facts to theories; and that I may not diſmiſs the queſtion without ſome appeal to facts, I will borrow an example, ſuggeſted by a great artiſt, and recommended to thoſe who may ſtill doubt which of the two arches is the ſtronger, to preſs an egg firſt on the ends, and then upon the ſides.

I am, SIR,

Yours, &c.

Digitized by Google

SOME THOUGHTS ON AGRICULTURE,

Both ANCIENT and MODERN:

With an Account of the Honour due to an ENGLISH FARMER*.

AGRICULTURE, in the primeval ages, was the common parent of traffick; for the opulence of mankind then conſiſted in cattle, and the product of tillage; which are now very eſſential for the promotion of trade in general, but more particularly ſo to ſuch nations as are moſt abundant in cattle, corn, and fruits. The labour of the Farmer gives employment to the manufacturer, and yields a ſupport for the other parts of a community: it is now the ſpring which ſets the whole grand machine of commerce in motion; and the ſail could not be ſpread without the aſſiſtance of the plough. But, though the Farmers are of ſuch utility in a ſtate, we find them in general too much diſregarded among the politer kind of people in the preſent age; while we cannot help obſerving the honour that antiquity has always paid to the profeſſion of the huſbandman: which naturally leads us into ſome reflections upon that occaſion.

Though mines of gold and ſilver ſhould be exhauſted, and the ſpecies made of them loſt; though

* From the Viſiter, for *February* 1756, p. 59.

diamonds

Digitized by Google

diamonds and pearls ſhould remain concealed in the bowels of the earth, and the womb of the ſea; though commerce with ſtrangers be prohibited; though all arts which have no other object than ſplendor and embelliſhment, ſhould be aboliſhed; yet the fertility of the earth alone would afford an abundant ſupply for the occaſions of an induſtrious people, by furniſhing ſubſiſtence for them, and ſuch armies as ſhould be muſtered in their defence. We, therefore, ought not to be ſurprized, that Agriculture was in ſo much honour among the ancients: for it ought rather to ſeem wonderful that it ſhould ever ceaſe to be ſo, and that the moſt neceſſary and moſt indiſpenſable of all profeſſions ſhould have fallen into any contempt.

Agriculture was in no part of the world in higher conſideration than *Egypt*, where it was the particular object of government and policy: nor was any country ever better peopled, richer, or more powerful. The *Satrapæ*, among the *Aſſyrians* and *Perſians*, were rewarded, if the lands in their governments were well cultivated; but were puniſhed, if that part of their duty was neglected. *Africa* abounded in corn; but the moſt famous countries were *Thrace*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*.

Cato, the cenſor, has juſtly called *Sicily* the magazine and nurſing mother of the *Roman* people, who were ſupplied from thence with almoſt all their corn, both for the uſe of the city, and the ſubſiſtence of her armies: though we alſo find in *Livy*, that the *Romans* received no inconſiderable quantities of corn from *Sardinia*. But, when *Rome* had made herſelf miſtreſs of *Carthage* and *Alexandria*, *Africa* and *Egypt* became her ſtore-houſes: for thoſe cities ſent ſuch numerous

Digitized by Google

fleets every year, freighted with corn to *Rome*, that *Alexandria* alone annually ſupplied twenty millions of buſhels: and, when the harveſt happened to fail in one of theſe provinces, the other came in to its aid, and ſupported the metropolis of the world; which, without this ſupply, would have been in danger of periſhing by famine. *Rome* actually ſaw herſelf reduced to this condition under *Auguſtus*; for there remained only three days proviſion of corn in the city: and that prince was ſo full of tenderneſs for the people, that he had reſolved to poiſon himſelf, if the expected fleets did not arrive before the expiration of that time; but they came; and the preſervation of the *Romans* was attributed to the good fortune of their emperor: but wiſe precautions were taken to avoid the like danger for the future.

When the ſeat of empire was tranſplanted to *Conſtantinople*, that city was ſupplied in the ſame manner: and when the emperor *Septimius Severus* died, there was corn in the publick magazines for ſeven years, expending daily 75,000 buſhels in bread, for 600,000 men.

The ancients were no leſs induſtrious in the cultivation of the vine than in that of corn, though they applied themſelves to it later: for *Noah* planted it by order, and diſcovered the uſe that might be made of the fruit, by preſſing out and preſerving the juice. The vine was carried by the offspring of *Noah* into the ſeveral countries of the world: but *Aſia* was the firſt to experience the ſweets of this gift; from whence it was imparted to *Europe* and *Africa*; *Greece* and *Italy*, which were diſtinguiſhed in ſo many other reſpects, were particularly ſo by the excellency of their wines.

Greece

Digitized by Google

Greece was moſt celebrated for the wines of *Cyprus*, *Leſbos*, and *Chio*; the former of which is in great eſteem at preſent: though the cultivation of the vine has been generally ſuppreſſed in the *Turkiſh* dominions. As the *Romans* were indebted to the *Grecians* for the arts and ſciences, ſo were they likewiſe for the improvement of their wines; the beſt of which were produced in the country of *Capua*, and were called the *Maſſick*, *Calenian*, *Formian*, *Cæcuban*, and *Falernian*, ſo much celebrated by *Horace*. *Domitian* paſſed an edict for deſtroying all the vines, and that no more ſhould be planted throughout the greateſt part of the weſt; which continued almoſt two hundred years afterwards, when the emperor *Probus* employed his ſoldiers in planting vines in *Europe*, in the ſame manner as *Hannibal* had formerly employed his troops in planting olive-trees in *Africa*. Some of the ancients have endeavoured to prove, that the cultivation of vines is more beneficial than any other kind of huſbandry: but, if this was thought ſo in the time of *Columella*, it is very different at preſent; nor were all the ancients of his opinion, for ſeveral gave the preference to paſture lands.

The breeding of cattle has always been conſidered as an important part of Agriculture. The riches of *Abraham*, *Laban*, and *Job*, conſiſted in their flocks and herds. We alſo find from *Latinus* in *Virgil*, and *Ulyſſes* in *Homer*, that the wealth of thoſe princes conſiſted in cattle. It was likewiſe the ſame among the *Romans*, till the introduction of money, which put a value upon commodities, and eſtabliſhed a new kind of barter. *Varro* has not diſdained to give an extenſive account of all the beaſts that are of any uſe to the

Digitized by Google

country, either for tillage, breed, carriage, or other conveniencies of man. And *Cato*, the cenſor, was of opinion, that the feeding of cattle was the moſt certain and ſpeedy method of enriching a country.

Luxury, avarice, injuſtice, violence, and ambition, take up their ordinary reſidence in populous cities; while the hard and laborious life of the huſbandman will not admit of theſe vices. The honeſt Farmer lives in a wiſe and happy ſtate, which inclines him to juſtice, temperance, ſobriety, ſincerity, and every virtue that can dignify human nature. This gave room for the poets to feign, that *Aſtræa*, the Goddeſs of Juſtice, had her laſt reſidence among huſbandmen, before ſhe quitted the earth. *Heſiod* and *Virgil* have brought the aſſiſtance of the Muſes in praiſe of Agriculture. Kings, generals, and philoſophers, have not thought it unworthy their birth, rank, and genius, to leave precepts to poſterity upon the utility of the huſbandman's profeſſion. *Hiero*, *Attalus*, and *Archelaus*, kings of *Syracuſe*, *Pergamus*, and *Cappadocia*, have compoſed books for ſupporting and augmenting the fertility of their different countries. The *Carthaginian* general, *Mago*, wrote twenty-eight volumes upon this ſubject; and *Cato*, the cenſor, followed his example. Nor have *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Ariſtotle*, omitted this article, which makes an eſſential part of their politicks. And *Cicero*, ſpeaking of the writings of *Xenophon*, ſays, "How fully "and excellently does he, in that book called his "*Oeconomicks*, ſet out the advantages of huſbandry, "and a country life?"

When *Britain* was ſubject to the *Romans*, ſhe annually ſupplied them with great quantities of corn; and the *Iſle of Angleſea* was then looked upon as the granary for

Digitized by Google

for the weſtern provinces: but the *Britons*, both under the *Romans* and *Saxons*, were employed like ſlaves at the plough. On the intermixture of the *Danes* and *Normans*, poſſeſſions were better regulated, and the ſtate of vaſſalage gradually declined, till it was entirely wore off under the reigns of *Henry* VII. and *Edward* VI. for they hurt the old nobility by favouring the commons, who grew rich by trade, and purchaſed eſtates.

The wines of *France*, *Portugal*, and *Spain*, are now the beſt; while *Italy* can only boaſt of the wine made in *Tuſcany*. The breeding of cattle is now chiefly confined to *Denmark* and *Ireland*. The corn of *Sicily* is ſtill in great eſteem, as well as what is produced in the northern countries: but *England* is the happieſt ſpot in the univerſe for all the principal kinds of Agriculture, and eſpecially its great produce of corn.

The improvement of our landed eſtates, is the enrichment of the kingdom: for, without this, how could we carry on our manufactures, or proſecute our commerce? We ſhould look upon the *Engliſh* Farmer as the moſt uſeful member of ſociety. His arable grounds not only ſupply his fellow-ſubjects with all kinds of the beſt grain, but his induſtry enables him to export great quantities to other kingdoms, which might otherwiſe ſtarve; particularly *Spain* and *Portugal*: for, in one year, there have been exported 51,520 quarters of barley, 219,781 of malt, 1,920 of oatmeal, 1,329 of rye, and 153,343 of wheat; the bounty on which amounted to 72,433 pounds. What a fund of treaſure ariſes from his paſture lands, which breed ſuch innumerable flocks of ſheep, and afford ſuch fine herds of cattle, to feed *Britons*, and

Digitized by Google

cloath mankind! He rears flax and hemp for the making of linen; while his plantations of apples and hops ſupply him with generous kinds of liquors.

The land-tax, when at four ſhillings in the pound, produces 2,000,000 pounds a year. This ariſes from the labour of the huſbandman: it is a great ſum: but how greatly is it increaſed by the means it furniſhes for trade? Without the induſtry of the Farmer, the manufacturer could have no goods to ſupply the merchant, nor the merchant find any employment for the mariners: trade would be ſtagnated; riches would be of no advantage to the great; and labour of no ſervice to the poor.

The *Romans*, as hiſtorians all allow,
Sought, in extreme diſtreſs, the rural plough;
Io triumphe! for the village ſwain
Retir'd to be a nobleman * again.

* *Cincinnatus.*

Digitized by Google

FURTHER THOUGHTS ON AGRICULTURE.*

AT my laſt *viſit*, I took the liberty of mentioning a ſubject, which, I think, is not conſidered with attention proportionate to its importance. Nothing can more fully prove the ingratitude of mankind, a crime often charged upon them, and often denied, than the little regard which the diſpoſers of honorary rewards have paid to *Agriculture*; which is treated as a ſubject ſo remote from common life, by all thoſe who do not immediately hold the plough, or give fodder to the ox, that I think there is room to queſtion, whether a great part of mankind has yet been informed that life is ſuſtained by the fruits of the earth. I was once indeed provoked to aſk a lady of great eminence for genius, *Whether ſhe knew of what bread is made?*

I have already obſerved, how differently *Agriculture* was conſidered by the heroes and wiſe men of the *Roman* commonwealth, and ſhall now only add, that even after the emperors had made great alteration in the ſyſtem of life, and taught men to portion out their

* From the Viſiter, for *March* 1756, p. 111.

Digitized by Google

eſteem to other qualities than uſefulneſs, *Agriculture* ſtill maintained its reputation, and was taught by the polite and elegant *Celſus* among the other arts.

The uſefulneſs of *Agriculture* I have already ſhewn; I ſhall now, therefore, prove its neceſſity: and having before declared, that it produces the chief riches of a nation, I ſhall proceed to ſhew, that it gives its only riches, the only riches which we can call our own, and of which we need not fear either deprivation or diminution.

Of nations, as of individuals, the firſt bleſſing is independence. Neither the man nor the people can be happy to whom any human power can deny the neceſſaries or conveniencies of life. There is no way of living without the need of foreign aſſiſtance, but by the product of our own land, improved by our own labour. Every other ſource of plenty is periſhable or caſual.

Trade and manufactures muſt be confeſſed often to enrich countries; and we ourſelves are indebted to them for thoſe ſhips by which we now command the ſea, from the equator to the poles, and for thoſe ſums with which we have ſhewn ourſelves able to arm the nations of the north in defence of regions in the weſtern hemiſphere. But trade and manufactures, however profitable, muſt yield to the cultivation of lands in uſefulneſs and dignity.

Commerce, however we may pleaſe ourſelves with the contrary opinion, is one of the daughters of fortune, inconſtant and deceitful as her mother; ſhe chuſes her reſidence where ſhe is leaſt expected, and ſhifts her abode, when her continuance is in appearance

Digitized by Google

ance moſt firmly ſettled. Who can read of the preſent diſtreſſes of the *Genoeſe*, whoſe only choice now remaining is, from what monarch they ſhall ſolicit protection? Who can ſee the *Hanſeatick* towns in ruins, where perhaps the inhabitants do not always equal the number of the houſes; but he will ſay to himſelf, Theſe are the cities, whoſe trade enabled them once to give laws to the world, to whoſe merchants princes ſent their jewels in pawn, from whoſe treaſuries armies were paid, and navies ſupplied! And who can then forbear to conſider trade as a weak and uncertain baſis of power, and wiſh to his own country greatneſs more ſolid, and felicity more durable?

It is apparent, that every trading nation flouriſhes, while it can be ſaid to flouriſh, by the courteſy of others. We cannot compel any people to buy from us, or to ſell to us. A thouſand accidents may prejudice them in favour of our rivals; the workmen of another nation may labour for leſs price, or ſome accidental improvement, or natural advantage, may procure a juſt preference to their commodities; as experience has ſhewn, that there is no work of the hands, which, at different times, is not beſt performed in different places.

Traffick, even while it continues in its ſtate of proſperity, muſt owe its ſucceſs to *Agriculture*; the materials of manufacture are the produce of the earth. The wool which we weave into cloth, the wood which is formed into cabinets, the metals which are forged into weapons, are ſupplied by nature with the help of art. Manufactures, indeed, and profitable manufactures, are ſometimes raiſed from imported materials,

Digitized by Google

materials, but then we are ſubjected a ſecond time to the caprice of our neighbours. The natives of *Lombardy* might eaſily reſolve to retain their ſilk at home, and employ workmen of their own to weave it. And this will certainly be done when they grow wiſe and induſtrious, when they have ſagacity to diſcern their true intereſt, and vigour to purſue it.

Mines are generally conſidered as the great ſources of wealth, and ſuperficial obſervers have thought the poſſeſſion of great quantities of precious metals the firſt national happineſs. But *Europe* has long ſeen, with wonder and contempt, the poverty of *Spain*, who thought himſelf exempted from the labour of tilling the ground, by the conqueſt of *Peru*, with its veins of ſilver. Time, however, has taught even this obſtinate and haughty nation, that without *Agriculture* they may indeed be the tranſmitters of money, but can never be the poſſeſſors. They may dig it out of the earth, but muſt immediately ſend it away to purchaſe cloth or bread, and it muſt at laſt remain with ſome people wiſe enough to ſell much, and to buy little; to live upon their own lands, without a wiſh for thoſe things which nature has denied them.

Mines are themſelves of no uſe, without ſome kind of *Agriculture*. We have, in our own country, inexhauſtible ſtores of iron, which lie uſeleſs in the ore for want of wood. It was never the deſign of Providence to feed man without his own concurrence: we have from nature only what we cannot provide for ourſelves; ſhe gives us wild fruits which art muſt meliorate, and droſſy metals, which labour muſt refine.

Particular

Digitized by Google

Particular metals are valuable, becauſe they are ſcarce; and they are ſcarce, becauſe the mines that yield them are emptied in time. But the ſurface of the earth is more liberal than its caverns. The field, which is this autumn laid naked by the ſickle will be covered, in the ſucceeding ſummer, by a new harveſt; the graſs, which the cattle are devouring, ſhoots up again when they have paſſed over it.

Agriculture, therefore, and *Agriculture* alone, can ſupport us without the help of others, in certain plenty and genuine dignity. Whatever we buy from without, the ſellers may refuſe; whatever we ſell, manufactured by art, the purchaſers may reject; but, while our ground is covered with corn and cattle, we can want nothing; and if imagination ſhould grow ſick of native plenty, and call for delicacies or embelliſhments from other countries, there is nothing which corn and cattle will not purchaſe.

Our country is, perhaps, beyond all others, productive of things neceſſary to life. The pine-apple thrives better between the tropicks, and better furs are found in the northern regions. But let us not envy theſe unneceſſary privileges. Mankind cannot ſubſiſt upon the indulgencies of nature, but muſt be ſupported by her more common gifts. They muſt feed upon bread, and be cloathed with wool; and the nation that can furniſh theſe univerſal commodities, may have her ſhips welcomed at a thouſand ports, or ſit at home and receive the tribute of foreign countries, enjoy their arts, or treaſure up their gold.

It is well known to thoſe who have examined the ſtate of other countries, that the vineyards of *France* are

Digitized by Google

are more than equivalent to the mines of *America*; and that one great uſe of *Indian* gold, and *Peruvian* ſilver, is to procure the wines of *Champaigne* and *Burgundy*. The advantage is indeed always riſing on the ſide of *France*, who will certainly have wines, when *Spain*, by a thouſand natural or accidental cauſes, may want ſilver. But ſurely the vallies of *England* have more certain ſtores of wealth. Wines are choſen by caprice; the products of *France* have not always been equally eſteemed; but there never was any age, or people, that reckoned bread among ſuperfluities, when once it was known. The price of wheat and barley ſuffers not any variation, but what is cauſed by the uncertainty of ſeaſons.

I am far from intending to perſuade my countrymen to quit all other employments for that of manuring the ground. I mean only to prove, that we have, at home, all that we can want, and that therefore we need feel no great anxiety about the ſchemes of other nations for improving their arts, or extending their traffick. But there is no neceſſity to infer, that we ſhould ceaſe from commerce, before the revolution of things ſhall transfer it to ſome other regions! Such viciſſitudes the world has often ſeen; and therefore ſuch we have reaſon to expect. We hear many clamours of declining trade, which are not, in my opinion, always true; and many imputations of that decline to governors and miniſters, which may be ſometimes juſt, and ſometimes calumnious. But it is fooliſh to imagine, that any care or policy can keep commerce at a ſtand, which almoſt every nation has enjoyed and loſt, and which we muſt expect to loſe as we have long enjoyed it.

There

Digitized by Google

There is ſome danger, leſt our neglect of *Agriculture* ſhould haſten its departure. Our induſtry has for many ages been employed in deſtroying the woods which our anceſtors have planted. It is well known that commerce is carried on by ſhips, and that ſhips are built out of trees; and therefore, when I travel over naked plains, to which tradition has preſerved the name of foreſts, or ſee hills ariſing on either hand, barren and uſeleſs, I cannot forbear to wonder, how that commerce, of which we promiſe ourſelves the perpetuity, ſhall be continued by our deſcendants; nor can reſtrain a ſigh, when I think on the time, a time at no great diſtance, when our neighbours may deprive us of our naval influence, by refuſing us their timber.

By *Agriculture* only can commerce be pepetuated; and by *Agriculture* alone can we live in plenty without intercourſe with other nations. This, therefore, is the great art, which every government ought to protect, every proprietor of lands to practiſe, and every inquirer into nature to improve.

Digitized by Google

THE

VISION OF THEODORE,

The HERMIT of TENERIFFE,

FOUND IN HIS CELL.

SON of Perſeverance, whoever thou art, whoſe curioſity has led thee hither, read and be wiſe. He that now calls upon thee is Theodore, the Hermit of Teneriffe, who in the fifty-ſeventh year of his retreat left this inſtruction to mankind, leſt his ſolitary hours ſhould be ſpent in vain.

I was once what thou art now, a groveller on the earth, and a gazer at the ſky; I trafficked and heaped wealth together, I loved and was favoured, I wore the robe of honour and heard the muſick of adulation; I was ambitious, and roſe to greatneſs; I was unhappy, and retired. I ſought for ſome time what I at length found here, a place where all real wants might be eaſily ſupplied, and where I might not be under the neceſſity of purchaſing the aſſiſtance of men by the toleration of their follies. Here I ſaw fruits and herbs and water, and here determined to wait the hand of death, which I hope, when at laſt it comes, will fall lightly upon me.

Forty-eight years had I now paſſed in forgetfulneſs of all mortal cares, and without any inclination

Digitized by Google

to wander farther than the neceſſity of procuring ſuſtenance required; but as I ſtood one day beholding the rock that overhangs my cell, I found in myſelf a deſire to climb it; and when I was on its top, was in the ſame manner determined to ſcale the next, till by degrees I conceived a wiſh to view the ſummit of the mountain, at the foot of which I had ſo long reſided. This motion of my thoughts I endeavoured to ſuppreſs, not becauſe it appeared criminal, but becauſe it was new; and all change, not evidently for the better, alarms a mind taught by experience to diſtruſt itſelf. I was often afraid that my heart was deceiving me, that my impatience of confinement aroſe from ſome earthly paſſion, and that my ardour to ſurvey the works of nature was only a hidden longing to mingle once again in the ſcenes of life. I therefore endeavoured to ſettle my thoughts into their former ſtate, but found their diſtraction every day greater. I was always reproaching myſelf with the want of happineſs within my reach, and at laſt began to queſtion whether it was not lazineſs rather than caution that reſtrained me from climbing to the ſummit of Teneriffe.

I roſe therefore before the day, and began my journey up the ſteep of the mountain; but I had not advanced far, old as I was and burthened with proviſions, when the day began to ſhine upon me; the declivities grew more precipitous, and the ſand ſlided from beneath my feet; at laſt, fainting with labour, I arrived at a ſmall plain almoſt incloſed by rocks, and open only to the eaſt. I ſat down to reſt awhile, in full perſuaſion, that when I had recovered my ſtrength I ſhould proceed on my deſign; but when once

Digitized by Google

once I had taſted eaſe, I found many reaſons againſt diſturbing it. The branches ſpread a ſhade over my head, and the gales of ſpring wafted odours to my boſom.

As I ſat thus, forming alternately excuſes for delay, and reſolutions to go forward, an irreſiſtible heavineſs ſuddenly ſurpriſed me; I laid my head upon the bank, and reſigned myſelf to ſleep: when methought I heard the ſound as of the flight of eagles, and a being of more than human dignity ſtood before me. While I was deliberating how to addreſs him, he took me by the hand with an air of kindneſs, and aſked me ſolemnly, but without ſeverity, "Theodore, whither art thou going?" "I am climbing, anſwered "I, to the top of the mountain, to enjoy a more "extenſive proſpect of the works of nature." "Attend firſt, ſaid he, to the proſpect which this place "affords, and what thou doſt not underſtand I will "explain. I am one of the benevolent beings who "watch over the children of the duſt, to preſerve "them from thoſe evils which will not ultimately "terminate in good, and which they do not, by "their own faults, bring upon themſelves. Look "round therefore without fear: obſerve, contemplate, "and be inſtructed."

Encouraged by this aſſurance, I looked and beheld a mountain higher than Teneriffe, to the ſummit of which the human eye could never reach; when I had tired myſelf with gazing upon its height, I turned my eyes towards its foot, which I could eaſily diſcover, but was amazed to find it without foundation, and placed inconceivably in emptineſs and darkneſs. Thus I ſtood terrified and confuſed; above

Digitized by Google

above were tracks inſcrutable, and below was total vacuity. But my protector, with a voice of admonition, cried out, Theodore, be not affrighted, but raiſe thy eyes again; the Mountain of Exiſtence is before thee, ſurvey it and be wiſe.

I then looked with more deliberate attention, and obſerved the bottom of the mountain to be a gentle riſe, and overſpread with flowers; the middle to be more ſteep, embarraſſed with crags, and interrupted by precipices, over which hung branches loaded with fruits, and among which were ſcattered palaces and bowers. The tracts which my eye could reach neareſt the top were generally barren; but there were among the clefts of the rocks a few hardy ever-greens, which though they did not give much pleaſure to the ſight or ſmell, yet ſeemed to cheer the labour and facilitate the ſteps of thoſe who were clambering among them.

Then, beginning to examine more minutely the different parts, I obſerved at a great diſtance a multitude of both ſexes iſſuing into view from the bottom of the mountain. Their firſt actions I could not accurately diſcern; but, as they every moment approached nearer, I found that they amuſed themſelves with gathering flowers under the ſuperintendence of a modeſt virgin in a white robe, who ſeemed not over ſolicitous to confine them to any ſettled pace or certain track; for ſhe knew that the whole ground was ſmooth and ſolid, and that they could not eaſily be hurt or bewildered. When, as it often happened, they plucked a thiſtle for a flower, Innocence, ſo was ſhe called, would ſmile at the miſtake. Happy, ſaid I, are they who are under ſo gentle a government,

Digitized by Google

and yet are ſafe. But I had no opportunity to dwell long on the conſideration of their felicity; for I found that Innocence continued her attendance but a little way, and ſeemed to conſider only the flowery bottom of the mountain as her proper province. Thoſe whom ſhe abandoned ſcarcely knew that they were left, before they perceived themſelves in the hands of Education, a nymph more ſevere in her aſpect and imperious in her commands, who confined them to certain paths, in their opinion too narrow and too rough. Theſe they were continually ſolicited to leave, by Appetite, whom Education could never fright away, though ſhe ſometimes awed her to ſuch timidity, that the effects of her preſence were ſcarcely perceptible. Some went back to the firſt part of the mountain, and ſeemed deſirous of continuing buſied in plucking flowers, but were no longer guarded by Innocence; and ſuch as Education could not force back, proceeded up the mountain by ſome miry road, in which they were ſeldom ſeen, and ſcarcely ever regarded.

As Education led her troop up the mountain, nothing was more obſervable than that ſhe was frequently giving them cautions to beware of Habits; and was calling out to one or another at every ſtep, that a Habit was enſnaring them; that they would be under the dominion of Habit before they perceived their danger: and that thoſe whom Habit ſhould once ſubdue, had little hope of regaining their liberty.

Of this caution, ſo frequently repeated, I was very ſolicitous to know the reaſon, when my protector

Digitized by Google

tector directed my regard to a troop of pygmies, which appeared to walk ſilently before thoſe that were climbing the mountain, and each to ſmooth the way before her follower. I found that I had miſſed the notice of them before, both becauſe they were ſo minute as not eaſily to be diſcerned, and becauſe they grew every moment nearer in their colour to the objects with which they were ſurrounded. As the followers of Education did not appear to be ſenſible of the preſence of theſe dangerous aſſociates, or, ridiculing their diminutive ſize, did not think it poſſible that human beings ſhould ever be brought into ſubjection by ſuch feeble enemies, they generally heard her precepts of vigilance with wonder: and, when they thought her eye withdrawn, treated them with contempt. Nor could I myſelf think her cautions ſo neceſſary as her frequent inculcations ſeemed to ſuppoſe, till I obſerved that each of theſe petty beings held ſecretly a chain in her hand, with which ſhe prepared to bind thoſe whom ſhe found within her power. Yet theſe Habits under the eye of Education went quietly forward, and ſeemed very little to increaſe in bulk or ſtrength; for though they were always willing to join with Appetite, yet when Education kept them apart from her, they would very punctually obey command, and make the narrow roads in which they were confined eaſier and ſmoother.

It was obſervable, that their ſtature was never at a ſtand, but continually growing or decreaſing, yet not always in the ſame proportions: nor could I forbear to expreſs my admiration, when I ſaw in how

Digitized by Google

much leſs time they generally gained than loſt bulk. Though they grew ſlowly in the road of Education, it might however be perceived that they grew; but if they once deviated at the call of Appetite, their ſtature ſoon became gigantick; and their ſtrength was ſuch, that Education pointed out to her tribe many that were led in chains by them, whom ſhe could never more reſcue from their ſlavery. She pointed them out, but with little effect; for all her pupils appeared confident of their own ſuperiority to the ſtrongeſt Habit, and ſome ſeemed in ſecret to regret that they were hindered from following the triumph of Appetite.

It was the peculiar artifice of Habit not to ſuffer her power to be felt at firſt. Thoſe whom ſhe led, ſhe had the addreſs of appearing only to attend, but was continually doubling her chains upon her companions; which were ſo ſlender in themſelves, and ſo ſilently faſtened, that while the attention was engaged by other objects, they were not eaſily perceived. Each link grew tighter as it had been longer worn; and when by continual additions they became ſo heavy as to be felt, they were very frequently too ſtrong to be broken.

When Education had proceeded in this manner to the part of the mountain where the declivity began to grow craggy, ſhe reſigned her charge to two powers of ſuperior aſpect. The meaner of them appeared capable of preſiding in ſenates, or governing nations, and yet watched the ſteps of the other with the moſt anxious attention, and was viſibly confounded and perplexed if ever ſhe ſuffered her regard to be drawn away. The other ſeemed to approve her ſubmiſſion

as

Digitized by Google

as pleaſing, but with ſuch a condeſcenſion as plainly ſhewed that ſhe claimed it as due; and indeed ſo great was her dignity and ſweetneſs, that he who would not reverence, muſt not behold her.

"Theodore," ſaid my protector, "be fearleſs, "and be wiſe; approach theſe powers, whoſe domi- "nion extends to all the remaining part of the "Mountain of Exiſtence." I trembled, and ventured to addreſs the inferior nymph, whoſe eyes, though piercing and awful, I was not able to ſuſtain. "Bright Power," ſaid I, "by whatever name it is "lawful to addreſs thee, tell me, thou who preſideſt "here, on what condition thy protection will be "granted?" "It will be granted," ſaid ſhe, "only "to obedience. I am Reaſon, of all ſubordinate "beings the nobleſt and the greateſt; who, if thou "wilt receive my laws, will reward thee like the reſt "of my votaries, by conducting thee to Religion." Charmed by her voice and aſpect, I profeſſed my readineſs to follow her. She then preſented me to her miſtreſs, who looked upon me with tenderneſs. I bowed before her, and ſhe ſmiled.

When Education delivered up thoſe for whoſe happineſs ſhe had been ſo long ſolicitous, ſhe ſeemed to expect that they ſhould expreſs ſome gratitude for her care, or ſome regret at the loſs of that protection which ſhe had hitherto afforded them. But it was eaſy to diſcover, by the alacrity which broke out at her departure, that her preſence had been long diſpleaſing, and that ſhe had been teaching thoſe who felt in themſelves no want of inſtruction. They all agreed in rejoicing that they ſhould no longer be ſubject to

Digitized by Google

her caprices, or diſturbed by her documents, but ſhould be now under the direction only of Reaſon, to whom they made no doubt of being able to recommend themſelves by a ſteady adherence to all her precepts. Reaſon counſelled them, at their firſt entrance upon her province, to inliſt themſelves among the votaries of Religion; and informed them, that if they truſted to her alone, they would find the ſame fate with her other admirers, whom ſhe had not been able to ſecure againſt Appetites and Paſſions, and who, having been ſeized by Habits in the regions of Deſire, had been dragged away to the caverns of Deſpair. Her admonition was vain, the greater number declared againſt any other direction, and doubted not but by her ſuperintendency they ſhould climb with ſafety up the Mountain of Exiſtence. "My power," ſaid Reaſon, "is to adviſe, not to compel; I have "already told you the danger of your choice. The "path ſeems now plain and even, but there are "aſperities and pitfalls, over which Religion only "can conduct you. Look upwards, and you per- "ceive a miſt before you ſettled upon the higheſt "viſible part of the mountain; a miſt by which "my proſpect is terminated, and which is pierced "only by the eyes of Religion. Beyond it are the "temples of Happineſs, in which thoſe who climb "the precipice by her direction, after the toil of "their pilgrimage, repoſe for ever. I know not "the way, and therefore can only conduct you to "a better guide. Pride has ſometimes reproached "me with the narrowneſs of my view, but, when "ſhe endeavoured to extend it, could only ſhew me,

"below

Digitized by Google

" below the miſt, the bowers of Content; even they " vaniſhed as I fixed my eyes upon them; and thoſe " whom ſhe perſuaded to travel towards them were " inchained by Habits, and ingulfed by Deſpair, a " cruel tyrant, whoſe caverns are beyond the dark- " neſs on the right ſide and on the left, from whoſe " priſons none can eſcape, and whom I cannot teach " you to avoid."

Such was the declaration of Reaſon to thoſe who demanded her protection. Some that recollected the dictates of Education, finding them now ſeconded by another authority, ſubmitted with reluctance to the ſtrict decree, and engaged themſelves among the followers of Religion, who were diſtinguiſhed by the uniformity of their march, though many of them were women, and by their continual endeavours to move upwards without appearing to regard the proſpects which at every ſtep courted their attention.

All thoſe who determined to follow either Reaſon or Religion, were continually importuned to forſake the road, ſometimes by Paſſions, and ſometimes by Appetites, of whom both had reaſon to boaſt the ſucceſs of their artifices; for ſo many were drawn into by-paths, that any way was more populous than the right. The attacks of the Appetites were more impetuous, thoſe of the Paſſions longer continued. The Appetites turned their followers directly from the true way, but the Paſſions marched at firſt in a path nearly in the ſame direction with that of Reaſon and Religion; but deviated by ſlow degrees, till at laſt they entirely changed their courſe.

Digitized by Google

Appetite drew aſide the dull, and Paſſion the ſprightly. Of the Appetites, Luſt was the ſtrongeſt; and of the Paſſions, Vanity. The moſt powerful aſſault was to be feared, when a Paſſion and an Appetite joined their enticements; and the path of Reaſon was beſt followed, when a Paſſion called to one ſide, and an Appetite to the other.

Theſe ſeducers had the greateſt ſucceſs upon the followers of Reaſon, over whom they ſcarcely ever failed to prevail, except when they counteracted one another. They had not the ſame triumphs over the votaries of Religion; for though they were often led aſide for a time, Religion commonly recalled them by her emiſſary Conſcience, before Habit had time to enchain them. But they that profeſſed to obey Reaſon, if once they forſook her ſeldom returned; for ſhe had no meſſenger to ſummon them but Pride, who generally betrayed her confidence, and employed all her ſkill to ſupport Paſſion; and if ever ſhe did her duty, was found unable to prevail, if Habit had interpoſed.

I ſoon found that the great danger to the followers of Religion was only from Habit; every other power was eaſily reſiſted, nor did they find any difficulty when they inadvertently quitted her, to find her again by the direction of Conſcience, unleſs they had given time to Habit to draw her chain behind them, and bar up the way by which they had wandered. Of ſome of thoſe, the condition was juſtly to be pitied, who turned at every call of Conſcience, and tried, but without effect, to burſt the chains of Habit: ſaw Religion walking forward at a diſtance,

Digitized by Google

diſtance, ſaw her with reverence, and longed to join her; but were, whenever they approached her, withheld by Habit, and languiſhed in ſordid bondage, which they could not eſcape, though they ſcorned and hated it.

It was evident that the Habits were ſo far from growing weaker by theſe repeated conteſts, that if they were not totally overcome, every ſtruggle enlarged their bulk and increaſed their ſtrength; and a Habit oppoſed and victorious was more than twice as ſtrong as before the conteſt. The manner in which thoſe who were weary of their tyranny endeavoured to eſcape from them, appeared by the event to be generally wrong; they tried to looſe their chains one by one, and to retreat by the ſame degrees as they advanced; but before the deliverance was completed, Habit always threw new chains upon her fugitive; nor did any eſcape her but thoſe who, by an effort ſudden and violent, burſt their ſhackles at once, and left her at a diſtance; and even of theſe, many, ruſhing too precipitately forward, and hindered by their terrors from ſtopping where they were ſafe, were fatigued with their own vehemence, and reſigned themſelves again to that power from whom an eſcape muſt be ſo dearly bought, and whoſe tyranny was little felt, except when it was reſiſted.

Some however there always were, who when they found Habit prevailing over them, called upon Reaſon or Religion for aſſiſtance; each of them willingly came to the ſuccour of her ſuppliant, but neither with the ſame ſtrength, nor the ſame ſucceſs,

Digitized by Google

ceſs. Habit, inſolent with her power, would often preſume to parley with Reaſon, and offer to looſe ſome of her chains if the reſt might remain. To this Reaſon, who was never certain of victory, frequently conſented, but always found her conceſſion deſtructive, and ſaw the captive led away by Habit to his former ſlavery. Religion never ſubmitted to treaty, but held out her hand with certainty of conqueſt; and if the captive to whom ſhe gave it did not quit his hold, always led him away in triumph, and placed him in the direct path to the temple of Happineſs, where Reaſon never failed to congratulate his deliverance, and encourage his adherence to that power to whoſe timely ſuccour he was indebted for it.

When the traveller was again placed in the road of Happineſs, I ſaw Habit again gliding before him, but reduced to the ſtature of a dwarf, without ſtrength and without activity; but when the Paſſions or Appetites, which had before ſeduced him, made their approach, Habit would on a ſudden ſtart into ſize, and with unexpected violence puſh him towards them. The wretch, thus impelled on one ſide, and allured on the other, too frequently quitted the road of Happineſs, to which, after his ſecond deviation from it, he rarely returned: but, by a timely call upon Religion, the force of Habit was eluded, her attacks grew fainter, and at laſt her correſpondence with the enemy was intirely deſtroyed. She then began to employ thoſe reſtleſs faculties in compliance with the power which

Digitized by Google

ſhe could not overcome; and as ſhe grew again in ſtature and in ſtrength, cleared away the aſperities of the road to Happineſs.

From this road I could not eaſily withdraw my attention, becauſe all who travelled it appeared cheerful and ſatisfied; and the farther they proceeded, the greater appeared their alacrity, and the ſtronger their conviction of the wiſdom of their guide. Some, who had never deviated but by ſhort excurſions, had Habit in the middle of their paſſage vigorouſly ſupporting them, and driving off their Appetites and Paſſions which attempted to interrupt their progreſs. Others, who had entered this road late, or had long forſaken it, were toiling on without her help at leaſt, and commonly againſt her endeavours. But I obſerved, when they approached to the barren top, that few were able to proceed without ſome ſupport from Habit: and that they, whoſe Habits were ſtrong, advanced towards the miſts with little emotion, and entered them at laſt with calmneſs and confidence; after which, they were ſeen only by the eye of Religion; and though Reaſon looked after them with the moſt earneſt curioſity, ſhe could only obtain a faint glimpſe, when her miſtreſs, to enlarge her proſpect, raiſed her from the ground. Reaſon, however, diſcerned that they were ſafe, but Religion ſaw that they were happy.

"Now, Theodore," ſaid my protector, "withdraw "thy view from the regions of obſcurity, and ſee "the fate of thoſe who, when they were diſmiſſed "by Education, would admit no direction but "that

Digitized by Google

" that of Reaſon. Survey their wanderings, and be " wiſe."

I looked then upon the Road of Reaſon, which was indeed, ſo far as it reached, the ſame with that of Religion, nor had Reaſon diſcovered it but by her inſtruction. Yet when ſhe had once been taught it, ſhe clearly ſaw that it was right; and Pride had ſometimes incited her to declare that ſhe diſcovered it herſelf, and perſuaded her to offer herſelf as a guide to Religion: whom after many vain experiments ſhe found it her higheſt privilege to follow. Reaſon was however at laſt well inſtructed in part of the way, and appeared to teach it with ſome ſucceſs, when her precepts were not miſrepreſented by Paſſion, or her influence overborne by Appetite. But neither of theſe enemies was ſhe able to reſiſt. When Paſſion ſeized upon her votaries, ſhe ſeldom attempted oppoſition: ſhe ſeemed indeed to contend with more vigour againſt Appetite, but was generally overwearied in the conteſt; and if either of her opponents had confederated with Habit, her authority was wholly at an end. When Habit endeavoured to captivate the votaries of Religion, ſhe grew by ſlow degrees, and gave time to eſcape; but in ſeizing the unhappy followers of Reaſon, ſhe proceeded as one that had nothing to fear, and enlarged her ſize, and doubled her chains without intermiſſion, and without reſerve.

Of thoſe who forſook the directions of Reaſon, ſome were led aſide by the whiſpers of Ambition, who was perpetually pointing to ſtately palaces, ſituated

Digitized by Google

ſituated on eminences on either ſide, recounting the delights of affluence, and boaſting the ſecurity of power. They were eaſily perſuaded to follow her, and Habit quickly threw her chains upon them; they were ſoon convinced of the folly of their choice, but few of them attempted to return. Ambition led them forward from precipice to precipice, where many fell and were ſeen no more. Thoſe that eſcaped were, after a long ſeries of hazards, generally delivered over to Avarice, and enliſted by her in the ſervice of Tyranny, where they continued to heap up gold till their patrons or their heirs puſhed them headlong at laſt into the caverns of Deſpair.

Others were inticed by Intemperance to ramble in ſearch of thoſe fruits that hung over the rocks, and filled the air with their fragrance. I obſerved, that the Habits which hovered about theſe ſoon grew to an enormous ſize, nor were there any who leſs attempted to return to Reaſon, or ſooner ſunk into the gulfs that lay before them. When theſe firſt quitted the road, Reaſon looked after them with a frown of contempt, but had little expectations of being able to reclaim them; for the bowl of intoxication was of ſuch qualities as to make them loſe all regard but for the preſent moment; neither Hope nor Fear could enter their retreats; and Habit had ſo abſolute a power, that even Conſcience, if Religion had employed her in their favour, would not have been able to force an entrance.

There were others whoſe crime it was rather to neglect Reaſon than to diſobey her; and who retreated

Digitized by Google

treated from the heat and tumult of the way, not to the bowers of Intemperance, but to the maze of Indolence. They had this peculiarity in their condition, that they were always in ſight of the road of Reaſon, always wiſhing for her preſence, and always reſolving to return to-morrow. In theſe was moſt eminently conſpicuous the ſubtlety of Habit, who hung imperceptible ſhackles upon them, and was every moment leading them farther from the road, which they always imagined that they had the power of reaching. They wandered on from one double of the labyrinth to another with the chains of Habit hanging ſecretly upon them, till, as they advanced, the flowers grew paler, and the ſcents fainter; they proceeded in their dreary march without pleaſure in their progreſs, yet without power to return; and had this aggravation above all others, that they were criminal but not delighted. The drunkard for a time laughed over his wine; the ambitious man triumphed in the miſcarriage of his rival; but the captives of Indolence had neither ſuperiority nor merriment. Diſcontent lowered in their looks, and Sadneſs hovered round their ſhades; yet they crawled on reluctant and gloomy, till they arrived at the depth of the receſs, varied only with poppies and nightſhade, where the dominion of Indolence terminates, and the hopeleſs wanderer is delivered up to Melancholy: the chains of Habit are rivetted for ever; and Melancholy, having tortured her priſoner for a time, conſigns him at laſt to the cruelty of Deſpair.

While I was muſing on this miſerable ſcene, my protector called out to me, "Remember, Theodore, "and

Digitized by Google

" and be wiſe, and let not Habit prevail againſt " thee." I ſtarted, and beheld myſelf ſurrounded by the rocks of Teneriffe; the birds of light were ſinging in the trees, and the glances of the morning darted upon me.

Digitized by Google

THE PICTURE OF HUMAN LIFE.

Tranſlated from the GREEK of CEBES, a Diſciple of SOCRATES.

AS we were walking in the temple of *Saturn*, and obſerving ſeveral of the preſents dedicated to that god, we were particularly ſtruck with a picture hung up before one of the chapels. Both the manner and the ſubject of it ſeemed to be foreign; ſo that we were at a loſs to know either whence, or what it was. What it repreſented was neither a city nor a camp; but an incloſure, containing two other incloſures, the one larger, and the other leſs. To the outer incloſure there was a portal, with a great number of perſons ſtanding before it, and ſeveral females within; and an aged man ſtanding by the portal, in the attitude of giving directions to thoſe who were going in.

After we had been debating among ourſelves for ſome time, what all theſe things ſhould mean, an elderly perſon, who happened to be by, addreſſed himſelf to us in the following manner:

Old Citizen. As you are ſtrangers, 'tis no wonder that you ſhould be at a loſs to find out the meaning of

Digitized by Google

of this picture; ſince ſeveral of the natives of this city themſelves know not the true intent of it: and indeed it was not placed here by any of our citizens, but by a ſtranger who viſited theſe parts ſeveral years ago. He was a very ſenſible man, and a great philoſopher; and, both in his converſation and practice, ſeemed to approach nearer to the doctrines of *Pythagoras* and *Parmenides*, than to any other of our ſects. It was he who built this temple and dedicated this picture in it to *Saturn*.

Stranger. Have you then ſeen the very perſon who gave it? and was you acquainted with him?

O. C. Yes, I was both well acquainted with him, and admired him very much; for though he was rather young, his converſation was full of wiſdom; and, among other things, I have often heard him explaining the ſubject of the picture before us.

S. I intreat you, if it will not be too troubleſome, to acquaint us with his explanation of it, for it is what we were all longing to know.

O. C. That will be rather a pleaſure than any trouble to me; but I ought to forewarn you of one thing before I begin, which is this, that the hearing it, is attended with ſome danger.

S. What danger can there be in that?

O. C. It is no leſs than this, that if you obſerve and follow the leſſon than it gives you, it will make you wiſe and happy; but if you neglect it, you will be moſt miſerable and wretched all your days. So that the explaining of this, is not unlike the riddle ſaid to have been propoſed to people by the ſphynx, which if the hearer underſtood, he was ſaved; but if not, he was to be deſtroyed. It is much the ſame

Digitized by Google

in the preſent caſe; for ignorance is full as dangerous in life, as the ſphynx was ſuppoſed to be in the fable. Now the picture before us includes all the doctrine of what is good in life, what is bad, and what indifferent; ſo that if you ſhould take it wrong, you will be deſtroyed by it; not indeed all at once, as the people were by that monſter; but by little and little, through all the reſidue of your life, as thoſe are who are given up to be put to death by ſlow tortures. On the contrary, if you underſtand it aright, then will your ignorance be deſtroyed, and you will be ſaved, and become happy and bleſt for all the reſt of your days. Do you, therefore, attend carefully to what I ſhall ſay to you, and obſerve it as you ought.

S. O heavens, how have you encreaſed our longing to hear, what may be of ſuch very great importance to us!

O. C. It is certainly of the greateſt that can be.

S. Explain it then to us immediately, we beſeech you; and be aſſured, that we will liſten to you with all the care and attention, that a matter which concerns us ſo greatly muſt demand.

O. C. You ſee this grand incloſure. All this circuit, is the CIRCUIT OF HUMAN LIFE, and that great number of people ſtanding before the portal, are thoſe who are to enter into life. This aged perſon, who ſtands by the entrance holding a paper in one of his hands, and pointing with the other, is the GENIUS who directs all that are going in, what they ſhould do after they are entered into life; and ſhews them which way they ought to take in order to be happy in it.

S. And

Digitized by Google

S. And which is the way that he ſhews them? where is it?

O. C. Do you ſee that ſeat on the other ſide, before the portal; and the woman ſitting on it, with a cup in her hand? She who is ſo finely dreſſed out, and makes ſo plauſible an appearance?

S. I ſee her; and pray who is ſhe?

O. C. She is DECEIT, the miſleader of man.

S. And what does ſhe do there?

O. C. As they are entering into life, ſhe offers them to drink of her cup.

S. And what does her cup contain?

O. C. Ignorance and error; of which when they have drunk, they enter into life.

S. And do all drink of this cup?

O. C. All drink of it; but ſome more, and ſome leſs. A little farther, within the portal, don't you ſee a company of looſe women, with a great deal of variety both in their dreſs and airs?

S. I ſee them.

O. C. Thoſe are the OPINIONS, DESIRES, and PLEASURES; who, as the multitude enter, fly to them; embrace each of them with great earneſtneſs; and then lead them away with them.

S. And whither do they lead them?

O. C. Some to the way of ſafety; and others, to perdition through their folly.

S. Ah, why did they drink of that liquor before they came in?

O. C. All of them alike tell thoſe whom they are embracing, that they will lead them to what is beſt, and will make their lives quite happy; whilſt the new comers, blinded by the large draughts they

Digitized by Google

have taken from the cup of DECEIT, are incapable of diſtinguiſhing which is the true way in life; and wander about inconſiderately, here and there, as you ſee they do. You may obſerve too, that they who have been in ſome time, go about juſt as theſe direct them.

S. They do ſo. But, pray, who is that woman who ſeems to be both blind and mad, and who ſtands on that round ſtone there?

O. C. That is FORTUNE; and ſhe is really not only mad and blind, but deaf too.

S. What then can her buſineſs be?

O. C. She flies about every where, and ſnatches what he has from one, to give it to another; and then takes it away again from him, to gave it to a third; without any manner of meaning, or any degree of certainty: which latter is very aptly ſignified by her figure here.

S. How ſo?

O. C. By her ſtanding on that round ſtone, which ſhew that there is no ſtability or ſecurity in her favours; as all who truſt to her find, by ſome great and unexpected fall.

S. And what does all that company about her want of her? and how are they called?

O. C. They are called, THE INCONSIDERATES, and are begging for ſome of thoſe things which ſhe flings about her.

S. And why do they appear with ſuch a diverſity of paſſions? ſome of them as overjoyed, and others as very much diſtreſt?

O. C. They who ſmile and rejoice, are ſuch as have received ſomething from her hand; and theſe

Digitized by Google

call her by the title of GOOD FORTUNE: and ſuch as weep and mourn, are they from whom ſhe has reſumed what ſhe had before given them; and theſe call her BAD FORTUNE.

S. And what is it ſhe gives, that ſhould make the former rejoice ſo much on the receiving it, and the latter lament ſo much at the loſs of it?

O. C. All thoſe things which the greater part of mankind think good, ſuch as wealth, and glory, and nobility, and offspring, and dignities, and crowns; and all ſuch ſort of things.

S. And are not theſe really good things?

O. C. As to that we may talk more at large another time; but at preſent, if you pleaſe, let us ſtick to our picture. You ſee then, after entering this portal, there is another incloſure, on a raiſed ground, and ſeveral women ſtanding before it, dreſs'd out too, much like ladies of pleaſure.

S. They are ſo.

O. C. Of theſe, this is INTEMPERANCE; that LUXURY; this is AVARICE; and that other FLATTERY.

S. And what do they ſtand there for?

O. C. They are waiting for thoſe who have received any thing from FORTUNE; and as they meet with them, they embrace them with the greateſt fondneſs, attach themſelves to them, do every thing they can to pleaſe them, and beg them to ſtay with them; promiſe them to render their whole lives delightful, eaſy, and free from all manner of care or trouble. Now whoever is carried away by them to VOLUPTUOUSNESS, will find their company agreeable to him at firſt, whilſt they are fondling and tickling

Digitized by Google

his paſſions; but it is ſoon quite otherwiſe; for when he recovers his ſenſes, he perceives that he did not enjoy them, but was enjoyed by them; and that they prey upon him, and deſtroy him. And when he has, by their means, conſumed all that he had received from FORTUNE, then is he obliged to become their ſlave, to bear all the inſults they are pleaſed to impoſe upon him, to yield to all the moſt ſcandalous practices, and in the end, to commit all ſorts of villainies for their ſake; ſuch as betraying, defrauding, robbing, ſacrilege, perjury, and the like: and when all theſe fail him, then is he given up to PUNISHMENT.

S. And where is ſhe?

O. C. Don't you ſee there, a little behind thoſe women, a narrow dark cavern, with a ſmall ſort of door to it, and ſome miſerable women that appear within, clad only in filth and rags?

S. I ſee them.

O. C. She who holds up the ſcourge in her hand, is PUNISHMENT; this, with her head ſunk almoſt down to her knees, is SORROW; and that other tearing her hair, is ANGUISH OF MIND.

S. And pray, who is that meagre figure of a man without any cloaths on, juſt by them? and that lean woman, that reſembles him ſo much in her make and face?

O. C. Thoſe are REPINING, and his ſiſter DESPAIR. To all theſe is the wretch I was ſpeaking of delivered up, and lives with them in torments, till finally he is caſt into the houſe of MISERY; where he paſſes the remainder of his days in all kinds of wretchedneſs; unleſs, by chance, REPENTANCE ſhould fall in his way.

S. What

Digitized by Google

S. What happens then?

O. C. If REPENTANCE ſhould chance to meet with him, ſhe will take him out of the evil ſituation he was in, and will place a different OPINION and DESIRE before him: one, of thoſe which lead to TRUE SCIENCE; and the other, of thoſe which lead to SCIENCE falſely ſo called.

S. And what then?

O. C. If he embraces that which leads to TRUE SCIENCE, he is renewed and ſaved, and becomes a happy man for all his days; but if the other, he is bewildered again by FALSE SCIENCE.

S. Good Heaven! what a new danger do you tell me of! And pray, which is FALSE SCIENCE?

O. C. Do you ſee that ſecond incloſure?

S. Very plainly.

O. C. And don't you ſee a woman ſtanding without the incloſure, juſt by the entrance into it, of a very ſtriking appearance, and very well dreſſed?

S. As plainly.

O. C. That is ſhe whom the multitude, and all the unthinking part of mankind, call by the name of Science; though ſhe is really FALSE SCIENCE. Now thoſe who are ſaved out of the houſe of miſery call in here, in their paſſage to TRUE SCIENCE.

S. Is there then no other way to TRUE SCIENCE but this?

O. C. Yes, there is.

S. And pray who are thoſe men that are walking to and fro within the incloſure?

O. C. Thoſe who have attached themſelves to Falſe Science, miſtaking her for the True.

S. And what are they?

Digitized by Google

O. C. Some of them are poets, ſome rhetoricians, ſome logicians, ſome ſtudents in muſic, arithmetic, and geometry; pleaſuriſts, peripatetics, critics, and ſeveral others of the ſame rank.

S. And who are thoſe women who ſeem ſo buſy among them, and are ſo like INTEMPERANCE, and her companions, in the firſt incloſure?

O. C. They are the very ſame.

S. Are they then admitted into this ſecond incloſure?

O. C. Yes indeed; but not ſo readily, or frequently, as in the firſt.

S. And are the OPINIONS too admitted?

O. C. Undoubtedly; for the perſons who belong to this incloſure, have not yet got rid of the draught which they took out of the cup of Deceit.

S. What then, IGNORANCE remains ſtill with them?

O. C. That it does, and FOLLY too; nor can they get rid of the OPINIONS, nor all the reſt of this vile train, till they quit Falſe Science, and get into the way of the True; till they drink of her purifying liquor, and waſh away all the dregs of the evils that remain in them; which that, and that only, is capable of doing. Such therefore as fix their abode with Falſe Science will never be delivered; nor can all their ſtudies clear them from any one of thoſe evils.

S. Which then is the way to True Science?

O. C. Do you ſee that place on high there, that looks as if it were uninhabited?

S. I do.

O. C. And do you diſcern a little opening between

Digitized by Google

tween the rocks, and a ſmall track leading to it, which is ſcarce beaten; and with very few people walking in it, as it is all rough, and ſtony, and difficult?

S. I diſcern it very plainly.

O. C. And don't you ſee a high cliff on the hill, almoſt inacceſſible, and with ſeveral precipices about it?

S. I ſee it.

O. C. That is the way which leads to TRUE SCIENCE.

S. It is frightful only to look upon it.

O. C. And up above that cliff, don't you ſee a large riſing rock, all ſurrounded with precipices?

S. I ſee it.

O. C. Then you ſee alſo the two women that ſtand upon it, with ſo much firmneſs and beauty in their make, and how earneſtly they extend their hands.

S. I do ſo; and pray who are they?

O. C. Thoſe two are ſiſters, and are called TEMPERANCE and PERSEVERANCE.

S. And why do they extend their hands ſo earneſtly?

O. C. They are encouraging thoſe who are arrived to that rock, and calling out to them to be of good heart, and not to deſpond, becauſe they have but a little more to ſuffer, and then will find the road all eaſy and pleaſant before them.

S. But how can they ever get up upon that rock itſelf? for I don't ſee any the leaſt path to aſcend it by.

O. C. The two ſiſters deſcend to meet them, and help

Digitized by Google

help them up. Then they order them to reſt a little, inſpire them with new ſtrength and reſolution, and promiſe to conduct them to TRUE SCIENCE; point out the way to them, make them obſerve how even, and eaſy, and charming it is; and how free from all manner of difficulty or danger, as you ſee is repreſented here.

S. How well does it anſwer the deſcription!

O. C. You ſee before that grove, the ground that extends itſelf into a beautiful meadow, with ſuch a lively light over it.

S. Very plainly.

O. C. Then you ſee the third incloſure, in the midſt of that meadow, and the portal to it.

S. I do ſo; and pray, what do you call this place?

O. C. The habitation of the bleſt; for here it is that HAPPINESS, and all the VIRTUES dwell.

S. What a charming place have they to dwell in!

O. C. And do you obſerve the lady near the portal, with ſo beautiful and ſteady a look; of a middle age, or rather a little paſt it, and dreſſed in a plain long robe, without any the leaſt affectation of ornaments? She is ſtanding there, not on a round ſtone, but a ſquare one, firmly fixed in the ground; and by her are two other women, who look as if they were her daughters.

S. They do ſo.

O. C. Of theſe, ſhe in the midſt is SCIENCE, and the other two are TRUTH and PERSUASION.

S. And why does SCIENCE ſtand on that ſquare ſtone?

O. C. To

Digitized by Google

O. C. To ſignify that her ways are ways of certainty, and that the preſents which ſhe gives to thoſe that arrive to her, are firm and laſting.

S. And what is that ſhe gives to them?

O. C. Strength and tranquillity of mind, ariſing from a full aſſurance, that they ſhall never undergo any evil again in their whole lives.

S. O heavens, how deſirable are her preſents! But why does ſhe ſtand thus without the incloſure?

O. C. To receive thoſe that arrive thither, and give them to drink of her purifying liquor, and to conduct them into the preſence of the VIRTUES within, when they are thoroughly cleanſed by it.

S. I don't rightly underſtand what you mean by this cleanſing.

O. C. I will make that clearer to you. Suppoſe any friend of yours was afflicted with ſome dangerous fit of illneſs; if he goes to ſome knowing phyſician, and takes what he preſcribes, in order to root out the cauſes of his diſeaſe, he may be reſtored to a perfect ſtate of health; but if he refuſes to take what is ordered him, his phyſician will give him up, and leave him to be deſtroyed by his diſtemper.

S. That is clear enough.

O. C. In the very ſame manner, when any one comes to SCIENCE, ſhe takes him under her care, and gives him a draught of her cup to cleanſe him, and drive out all the noxious things that are in him.

S. And what are thoſe noxious things?

O. C. The error and ignorance that he drank out of the cup of DECEIT; and his arrogance, and luſt, and intemperance, and anger, and covetouſneſs; in ſhort,

Digitized by Google

ſhort, all the evil impreſſions and habits that he had contracted in his paſſage through the firſt incloſure.

S. And when ſhe has cleanſed him from all theſe, whither does ſhe ſend him?

O. C. In through that portal, to KNOWLEDGE, and the other VIRTUES.

S. And where are they?

O. C. Don't you ſee, within the portal, a ſelect company of ladies, of ſingular beauty and decency, both in their look and dreſs; and in a word, with every thing handſome, and nothing affected about them?

S. I ſee them, and ſhould be glad to know their names.

O. C. That at the head of them is KNOWLEDGE, and the reſt are all her ſiſters, FORTITUDE, JUSTICE, HONESTY, PRUDENCE, DECENCY, FREEDOM, TEMPERANCE, and CLEMENCY.

S. What beauties they are! and what a longing deſire do they inſpire one with to enjoy their companies!

O. C. That you may do, if you are wiſe enough to follow the way that I have ſhewn you.

S. That will I ſtrive to do as far as I am able.

O. C. Then you will arrive ſafely to them.

S. And when theſe have received any one, whither do they carry him?

O. C. To their mother.

S. And who is ſhe?

O. C. HAPPINESS.

S. And where?

O. C. Do you ſee the way which leads to that high edifice,

Digitized by Google

edifice, which appears above all the incloſures, as a citadel does above all the buildings in a city?

S. Yes.

O. C. And do you ſee that compoſed, beautiful lady, ſitting on a throne in the portico to it, with ſo eaſy and diſengaged an air, and with that beautiful chaplet of freſh flowers on her head?

S. How beautiful does ſhe look!

O. C. She is HAPPINESS.

S. And when any one arrives to her, what does ſhe do to him?

O. C. HAPPINESS, aſſiſted by all the Virtues, crowns him with her own influences; in the ſame manner as they are crowned, who have obtained the greateſt conqueſts.

S. But what conqueſts has he obtained?

O. C. The greateſt conqueſts, and over the moſt terrible of monſters, which formerly devoured and tormented, and enſlaved him. All theſe has he conquered, and driven from him; and is become ſo much maſter both of himſelf and them, as to make thoſe things obey him, which he himſelf obeyed before.

S. I don't yet comprehend what monſters you mean; and ſhould be very glad to know.

O. C. In the firſt place, his ignorance and error; will you not allow them to be monſters?

S. Yes, and very dangerous ones too.

O. C. Then, his ſorrows, and repinings, and covetings, and intemperance, and every thing that is bad. All theſe has he ſubdued, and is not ſubdued by them as he uſed to be.

S. O

Digitized by Google

S. O glorious exploits! and moſt noble of all victories! But be ſo good as to inform me yet farther, what may be the influence of the crown, with which you were ſaying he was to be crowned?

O. C. It is that which renders him happy: for he who has it once on his head, immediately becomes eaſy and bleſt; and does not place his hopes of happineſs in any thing without him, but poſſeſſes it in his own breaſt.

S. How deſirable is ſuch an acquiſition! And after he is crowned, what does he do? or whither does he go?

O. C. The VIRTUES take him, and lead him to the place that he had left, and bid him obſerve thoſe who continue there, amidſt what difficulties and troubles they paſs their time; and how they are ſhipwrecked in life, or wander about in it; or are conquered and led along like captives, ſome by INTEMPERANCE, and others by ARROGANCE; here by COVETOUSNESS, and there by VAIN-GLORY, or any other of the VICES: whoſe chains they are in vain ſtriving to get looſe from, that they might eſcape and get to this place of reſt: ſo that their whole life ſeems to be nothing but one ineffectual ſtruggle. And all this they ſuffer from their miſtaking the right way, and forgetting the orders given them by the directing GENIUS.

S. That appears to me to be the caſe; but I don't ſo clearly ſee, why the VIRTUES lead the perſon that has been crowned, back to the place that he had left.

O. C. Becauſe he had never formed a full and exact

Digitized by Google

exact idea of the things that paſſed there, but at beſt had only gueſſed and doubted about them: for, from the draught of ignorance and error that he had taken at his entrance, he had imagined things that were bad to be good, and things that were good to be bad; by which means he had lived wretchedly, as indeed all do while they are there. But now that he has obtained the knowledge of what is really good, he can both live happily himſelf, and can ſee how very unhappy the others are.

S. And when he has taken a full view there, what does he do, or whither does he go?

O. C. Wherever he pleaſes, for every where is he as ſafe as one that is got into the *Corycian* cave; ſo that whereſoever he goes, he lives in full ſecurity, and undiſturbed happineſs; and is received by all others with as much pleaſure as a good phyſician is by his patients.

S. And has he no longer any dread of thoſe females which you called monſters? nor any apprehenſion of being hurt by them?

O. C. Not in the leaſt; for he will never any more be moleſted either by ANGUISH or SORROW, or INTEMPERANCE, or COVETOUSNESS, or POVERTY, or any other evil; for he is now maſter of them all, and ſuperior to every thing that formerly gave him any trouble. As they who practiſe the catching of vipers, are never hurt by the bite of thoſe creatures, which is ſo venomous and even mortal to others, becauſe they have an antidote againſt their poiſon; ſo he is ſafe from any influence of all theſe evils, becauſe he has the antidote againſt them.

S. That

Digitized by Google

S. That you have explained to me very well; but I beg you will tell me yet farther, who they are that are deſcending from the middle of the rock, ſome of them crowned, and with an air of joy on their countenances; and others without crowns, that ſeem to have been rejected, and have the marks of ſeveral falls about them, and are followed by certain women.

O. C. They who are crowned, are ſuch as got ſafe to SCIENCE, and are delighted with the reception that ſhe has given them; and thoſe without crowns, who ſeem to have been rejected by her, and are returned in ſo bad a condition, are ſuch as found their hearts fail them, when they came to the precipice where PATIENCE ſtands; and turned back from that point, and are now wandering irregularly they know not whither.

S. And who are the women that are following them?

O. C. They are SORROW and ANGUISH, and DESPAIR and INFAMY, and IGNORANCE.

S. By your account they are attended by every thing that is bad!

O. C. Undoubtedly they are, but when they are got down into the firſt incloſure, to VOLUPTUOUSNESS and INTEMPERANCE, they don't lay the blame on themſelves, but immediately ſay all the ill things they can of SCIENCE, and of thoſe who are going to her; and tell how miſerable and wretched thoſe poor people are, and how much they ſuffer, who leave the life they might have enjoyed below, and the good things beſtowed there.

S. And

Digitized by Google

S. And what are the good things which they mean?

O. C. Luxury and Intemperance, to ſay all in two words; for to indulge their paſſions like brute beaſts, is what they look upon as the completion of all their happineſs.

S. And thoſe other women that are coming down there, who look ſo gay and ſo well pleaſed with themſelves, what are they?

O. C. The OPINIONS, who, after conducting thoſe to SCIENCE, who have gained admiſſion to the VIRTUES, are returning to bring up others, and to acquaint them how happy thoſe are whom they have already conducted up thither.

S. And have they been admitted to the VIRTUES themſelves?

O. C. By no means; for 'tis not allowable for OPINION to enter, where KNOWLEDGE has her dwelling. Their buſineſs therefore was only to conduct them to SCIENCE; and when ſhe has received them, they turn back again to bring others; like tranſport-ſhips, which as ſoon as they have delivered one freight, return for another.

S. You have now, I think, very well explained all the figures in the picture; but you have not yet told us what directions they were, which the Genius at the firſt portal gives to thoſe that are entering into life.

O. C. He bids them be of good courage. Wherefore be you alſo of good courage; for I will tell you the whole, and leave no one thing unexplained to you.

Digitized by Google

S. We ſhall be extremely obliged to you.

O. C. You ſee that blind woman there on the round ſtone, who I told you before was FORTUNE.

S. I ſee her.

O. C. As to that woman, he orders them not to place any confidence in her, nor to look on any of her gifts as firm or ſecure, nor to conſider them as their property; for there is no hindering her from reſuming them, and giving them to any body elſe; and 'tis what ſhe is extremely apt to do. He therefore orders them to regard all her preſents with indifference, and not to rejoice if ſhe makes them any, nor to be dejected if ſhe takes them away, and to think neither well nor ill of her; for whatever ſhe does is done without thought, and all by mere chance and accident, as I have acquainted you already. 'Tis on this account that the Genius commands them, not to attach themſelves to any thing ſhe can give; nor to be like thoſe ſimple bankers, who when they have received any ſum of money in truſt, are apt to be pleaſed with it, and look upon it as their own; and, when they are called upon to repay it, grow uneaſy, and think it very hard; not conſidering that it was depoſited in their hands on that very condition, that the true owners might demand it again whenever they pleaſed. Juſt thus the GENIUS commands men to look upon all the gifts of FORTUNE: and to be aware that ſhe may recall them whenever ſhe has a fancy to do it; or may ſend in more, and, if ſhe pleaſes, may reſume that and the former all together. He therefore commands thoſe who are entering into life, to receive whatever ſhe offers them, and, as ſoon as they

Digitized by Google

have received it, to go on in queſt of a more laſting acquiſition.

S. What acquiſition do you mean?

O. C. That which they may obtain from SCIENCE, if they can arrive ſafe to her.

S. And what is that ſhe gives them?

O. C. The true knowledge of what is really good, and the firm, certain, and unchangeable poſſeſſion of it. He therefore commands them to quit Fortune immediately, in purſuit of this; and when they come to thoſe women, who, as I told you before, were INTEMPERANCE and VOLUPTUOUSNESS, to leave them too directly, and not to mind whatever they can ſay; but to go on for the incloſure of FALSE SCIENCE; there he bids them ſtay a little while, to get what may be uſeful to them on the reſt of their road, and then to leave her directly too, and go on for TRUE SCIENCE. Theſe are the orders which the GENIUS gives to all that enter into life; and whoever tranſgreſſes or neglects them will be a miſerable wretch. I have now explained the whole of the parable contained in this painting; but if you have any particular queſtion to aſk in relation to any thing that I have ſaid, I am very ready to anſwer it.

S. We are much obliged to you. Pray then, what is it that the GENIUS orders them to get in the incloſure of Science, falſely ſo called?

O. C. Whatever may be of uſe to them.

S. And what is there, that may be of uſe to them?

O. C. Literature, and ſo much of the ſciences as

Digitized by Google

Plato ſays may ſerve people in the beginning of their lives as a bridle, to keep them from being drawn away by idler purſuits.

S. And is it neceſſary for all who would arrive at True Science, to do this?

O. C. No, it is not neceſſary, but it may be uſeful; though, in truth, theſe things themſelves do not contribute towards making them the better men.

S. Not contribute at all towards making them better!

O. C. Not at all, for they may be as good without them. And yet they are not wholly unuſeful; for they may ſometimes help us, as interpreters do, to the meaning of a language we don't underſtand: but, after all, 'tis better to underſtand the language ourſelves, than to have any need of an interpreter; and we may be good, without the aſſiſtance of learning.

S. In what then have the learned any advantage over others towards becoming better men?

O. C. Why do you imagine they ſhould have any advantge; ſince you ſee they are deceived like others, as to what is good or bad; and continue to be as much involved in all manner of vices? for there is nothing that hinders a man, who is a maſter of literature, and knowing in all the ſciences, from being at the ſame time a drunkard, or intemperate, or covetous, or unjuſt, or villainous, or, in one word, imprudent in all his ways.

S. Tis true, we ſee too many inſtances of ſuch.

O. C. Of what advantage then is their learning, toward making them better men?

S. You

Digitized by Google

S. You have made it appear, that it is of none; but pray what is the reaſon of it?

O. C. The reaſon is this: that when they are got into the ſecond incloſure, they fix there as if they were arrived at True Science. And what can they get by that? ſince we ſee ſeveral perſons, who go on directly from Intemperance, and the other Vices in the firſt incloſure, to the incloſure of True Science, without ever calling in where theſe learned perſons have taken up their abode. How then can the learned be ſaid to have any advantage over them? On the contrary, they are leſs apt to exert themſelves, or to be inſtructed, than the former.

S. How can that be?

O. C. Becauſe they who are in the ſecond incloſure, not to mention any other of their faults, at leaſt profeſs to know what they do not know: ſo that they acquieſce in their ignorance, and have no motive to ſtir them up toward the ſeeking of True Science. Beſides, do you not obſerve another thing; that the Opinions, from the firſt incloſure, enter in among them, and converſe with them, as freely as with the former? ſo that they are not at all better even than they; unleſs Repentance ſhould come to them, and ſhould convince them, that it is not Science they have been embracing all this while; but only the falſe appearance of her, which has deceived them. But while they continue in the ſame mind they are in, there is no hope left for them. To cloſe all, my friends, what I would entreat of you is, to think over every thing I have ſaid to you, to weigh it well in your minds, and to practiſe accordingly.

Get

Digitized by Google

Get a habit of doing right, whatever pain it coſts you; let no difficulties deter you, in the way to VIRTUE: and account every thing elſe deſpicable, in compariſon of this. Then will the leſſon that I have taught you, prove to yourſelves a leſſon of HAPPINESS.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

LUKE HANSARD, Printer,
Great Turnſtile, Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google